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## THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

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There is a criticism today among many thinking people that portions of the Church of our Lord are in part too "dogmatic," "institutional," "conventional," "professional," "impersonal," "official." Whatever the motivation for such criticism, there are few of us, perhaps, who are unwilling to agree that there is ground for this position. That some of the aspects of the Christian Church exist relatively apart *from* rather than a part *of* its people is one of the sad facts which we should face squarely today.

"The establishment of the American Sociological Society marks a notable stage in the positive investigation of human conditions... It bears witness that a few men and women, in full possession of their senses, are convinced that something is lacking in methods of interpreting human experience, and that the most effective means of supplying the lack must be sought without rather than within the older science of society."<sup>1</sup> The Church can

1 Editorial Preface to the first volume of *Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*.

further help itself by the use of present obtainable tools for its own and other social analysis. This paper will deal with a few of these newer points of view relative to the subject: "The Church and Social Psychology." The two divisions of the paper will bear the headings respectively: *Social Psychology Needs the Church*, and *The Church Needs Social Psychology*.

#### SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY NEEDS THE CHURCH

By the statement that social psychology needs the Church is meant that social psychology needs to be righteous. The Church, as other phases of society, cannot use much of the social speculation which is so prevalent today. Many people interested in human nature are in too great a haste or are too much within themselves or are too tied down to prepossessions or other things, to take the usually longer route of getting the facts. The result is that much of our sociology is passing on contentions and contentiousness which fall short of truth, and such procedure cannot serve the Church because it is not truth-full. It takes time to be holy.

Many of our ideas concerning races and peoples fall short of open, honest and righteous inquiry. The Pacific Coast has had much friction between the Caucasian and Mongoloid peoples, and race antipathy has at times become alarming. Much untruthful propaganda has been deliberately and voluntarily released with reference to the situation. Finally one man was righteous enough to seek and find the truth in part relative to the nature of the contacts between the two races. He later published his findings under the caption: "Let's Have the Facts."<sup>2</sup> Much bitter feeling is also prevalent in more than one section of our country between the Caucasian and Negroid races. Some of it is bigoted, selfish and un-Christian. A righteous approach to the problem will rather

<sup>2</sup> A review of the work occurs in a recent number of *The Journal of Applied Sociology*, published by the University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles.

follow the precedent of Chicago after the race riots when a Race Commission was appointed to get the facts. Again, the calling of hard names and the attitude of looking down upon those engaged in vice has given place to the more righteous way of the Chicago Vice Commission, the business of which is to obtain the facts. Someone wrote in a local daily paper not long ago that present immigrants are anarchists, and that the majority of them come to the United States to make money. Some of us, however, know of many immigrants who are not anarchists, and also know real students of immigration who might contend that only a minority are here primarily for the purpose of making money. In order to prove that primitive, or better, preliterate, peoples are linked up with lower animals by biological evolution, attempts are being made to show that these peoples' sense organs are more like animals, being more acute than civilized man's. More honest inquiries into the facts<sup>3</sup> prove these contentions to be fallacious. Preliterate peoples are also said to be like children because, it is alleged, they lack abstraction, inhibition, choice and reason. This is another easy way to bolster up a white in-some-ways-civilized society, without the facts. Unprejudiced, truthful approaches,<sup>4</sup> however, show that the facts in the case are otherwise. Dr. Ellsworth Faris, one of our leading ethnologists who lived many years as a missionary among the natives of Congo West Africa relates<sup>5</sup> that the African Bantu language has three distinctions for the conception, "tail," and different words for all of them. The feathers on a chicken comprise one kind of tail, the extension of the vertebrae on an elephant is another kind, and the rudder on a fish is still a third kind of tail. We use the word "tail" indiscriminately for all of them. There is, perhaps, no sin in this, but the sin comes at the place where we go out of our way to select subjective ma-

3 Thomas, W. I. *Source Book for Social Origins*.

4 Kroeber, A. L.: *Anthropology*; Dewey, J.: *Interpretation of Savage Mind*; Sumner, W., *Folkways*; Faris, E., *Social Origins*; Thomas, *ibid.*, and others.

5 Faris, *ibid.*

terial which seeks to elevate our own status and belie our brethren. The above is a case where savage discrimination is finer than our own, and could be taken as an argument that he is superior to us, as we often do when we find some distinction of our own that is superior to his. However, we do not usually sin in the first direction. This method of reaching deductive conclusions does not lead to inductive scientific generalizations, but is particularistic, being based upon single, isolated data or impressions, which are unsound and unscientific, that is to say, they are not truthful. The whole question of the relative superiority or inferiority of races and peoples should be taken out of the hands of the biased and placed in the hands of those whom blood nor brotherhood cannot buy.

Another way in which some people have unintentionally and intentionally not been right (eous) and truth-full has been in postulating an inclusive evolutionary basis to human life and activity which has not been proven. The real scientist will not do it. It should not be a case, however, of one dogmatist who says that there is no evolution against another dogmatist who says that there is evolution. "Dogma, far from being an interpretation or identification of thought with the truth of the object, is a fresh and additional object in itself."<sup>6</sup> It does not necessarily bear directly upon the truth of anything, but is an emotionally re-enforced content within itself which exists functionally within its own experimental sphere, and "the more perfect the dogmatism, the more insecure."<sup>7</sup> It should be a case of fact. But there are people who have something to "prove," a conviction to release, a system to expound, an "axe" to grind, a "hunch" to spread. The question whether the "proof," the conviction, the system, the "axe," the "hunch" have bases in reality gives little trouble when unseen or ignored. One has been told to fight evolution and he becomes an obedient imitator and servant. Another has read or not read about Herbert Spencer's biological evolutionary

6 Santayana, G.: *Skepticism and Animal Faith*, p. 7.

7 Ibid.



opinions regarding the origin of human nature and its activities and likewise henceforth believes it to be his life's duty to spread alleged knowledge to the ignorant. He becomes enamored. He, like the person who contends that there is no evolution, is often a man of strong conviction. But men can have strong convictions on anything. Those who doubt this should read Sumner's "Folkways,"<sup>8</sup> go with our own missionaries to other peoples, listen to backyard gossip and advice about the weather, or observe street corner arguments on politics. Conviction is no guarantee for truth; it is so only when it has its basis in reality. Very much unscientific, i. e., untruthful and, therefore, unrighteous material has been written with conviction on both sides of the evolution question, especially as it is related to the origin and function of human nature.

But some of the advocates of evolution, particularly, have quite run away with themselves, from their fellows and their facts. "In his desire to bridge gulfs one might possibly become so imbued with the continuous oneness of organic, unfolding nature, as perceived in the lower orders of life, that the evolutionary momentum thus generated would carry him across some wide gaps without the necessity of an adequate factual basis for his theory, which could thus glide gracefully from the upper reaches of sub-human animal life on the level of human and cultural phenomena. This kind of intellectual volplaning is especially to be guarded against when we enter the area that lies between the organic and social sciences. . . . Here one even moderately familiar with the actual evidences discovered by prehistoric anthropology cannot fail to note, oftentimes, how the enthusiasm of the more strictly biological evolutionist enables him to speak with a note of certainty which goes distinctly beyond the actually ascertained facts concerning the continuity of man with lower forms of life. The same danger impends when one passes from questions of man's physical organic kinship with lower creatures to consider the beginnings of human

8 Published by Ginn & Co.

intelligence and culture. Here also the evolutionary hypothesis makes demands in its own right, as it were. Thus Professor Parnard declares: 'The truth is that all culture is as continuous as is the evolution of living forms itself. If one fail to recognize this fact it is because we are still under the dominance of cataclysmic theories of interpretation...' That all culture is so completely continuous can hardly be established thus axiomatically, but it is probably true that most of us are under the dominance of cataclysmic theories, where we are not under the dominance of the opposite theory of continuity. When we fully realize that we are under one theoretical 'dominance' or another, we shall understand that we are a good deal less rigidly scientific and a good deal more speculatively philosophical than we have often supposed. There is, of course, something grand and alluring in a picture portraying organic nature, past and present, as one single seamless web of life: so much so that it shapes the interpretations of those who may be unaware of its influence."<sup>9</sup>

Out of their own inner feeling people quite commonly weave the texture of their theories. There is an abundant philosophy extant concerning human nature. Much of this philosophy is speculative and, like Francis Bacon's methodological spider, can do nothing more than spin a web out of itself. Therefore, having little objective basis it is composed of all the subjective ambitions, aspirations, wishes, hopes, guesses, dreams, feelings, imaginations, visions, reasonings and opinions that proceed out of the "heart" of man. This groundless and uncertain attempt at procedure (it cannot be called method) has met with strikingly small success. The greatest thing it has done, it seems, has been to bring recrimination and misunderstanding among fellow searchers and to confuse and becloud the point or issue under consideration. There need not be disappointment at the meager results, for there has been little ground for agreement among scholars.

9 Case, C. M., *Culture as a Distinctive Human Trait*, American Journal of Sociology, May, 1927.

The difficulty has come in part not from the use of the interpretation of philosophy but from the attempted use of interpretation before actual concrete facts and abstract systems of knowledge have been discovered, described, classified and generalized, which can be interpreted. There is a need for poetry, but there is also a need for prose, and in the most of cases the prose is needed before the poetry. Such is the relation between the *discovery and description* of facts and the *meaning* with which they are later postulated. Regarding understanding, it should be the relation in time between science and philosophy. Science should precede philosophy, it should "blaze the trail" by discovering, describing, classifying and generalizing objective data. True philosophy is that which then, following science, takes the field and seeks to interpret, to give color and meaning to the concrete facts and abstract systems of knowledge which science has discovered, described, classified and generalized. Part of the confusion has arisen, it seems, not from the fact that there has been philosophy, but that there has been all philosophy. It seems also to have arisen in cases where philosophy has come upon the ground first when it should have been second, and has refused to relinquish it to science. In the first place it has been all cart and no horse: and in the second, the cart has come before the horse. It is, therefore, little wonder that men have become lost in the "bad lands" of human understanding.

However, we need something before either science or philosophy. Before anything else we need religion, although religion itself necessarily involves knowledge and interpretation, and should not be abstracted from them too sharply. We need the particular kind of religion which Jesus Christ lived and taught. True and genuine Christianity is proving its own right to reign supreme. Jesus taught that our faith should be simple, honest and open, and He used a child as His example. The faith to which Jesus referred seems to have been not only belief, but essentially trust involving belief. Social psychology needs the Church, it needs to become faith-full and right-

(eous). It needs to repent of its biases and bickerings, its prejudices and selfish sins. There are too many people who rush in where even angels, it appears, would almost fear to tread because of the sanctity of reality, and shout "Truth! Truth!" where there is no Truth. But to hold fallacy is not to hold fact. Facts together comprise the Truth, and the student of human nature and human affairs who tests his findings at every turn with much faith and an open mind, and encourages others to do the same, if not truth-full, is at least truth-part and right (eous) in an expanding way. After all, the Truth is simply the Way our good Lord is and the Way He has made things. It is well for speculators to remember that some things are apprehended through simple faith. It is also well for them to remember that other things are apprehended through cosmic phenomena. In either case only the patience of a Christian will win the day, and these two should unite into one experience. "I say unto you, be not anxious for your life."<sup>10</sup> When the anxiety of man regarding himself shall diminish and when men live in a larger, simpler faith, then shall they also, perhaps, take more time to get the knowledge of reality as it lies at the basis of life. With this will come a social science which will be a genuine and indispensable instrument for the Christian Church.

#### THE CHURCH NEEDS SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Section I sought to emphasize the thought that our scientists need to be Christians. Section II will emphasize that our Christians need to be scientists.

The Christian Church is badly in need of a scientific social psychology as a tool for analysis which will adequately discover, describe, classify and generalize the experiences of its people. Only by knowing these can it know itself, insofar as its tangible aspects are concerned. Here is where a scientific social psychology will prove itself to be of inestimable value.

10 Mt. 6:25.

Three laws are being recognized today: (1) *Natural Law*, which tells us what we can or cannot do, the (2) *Moral Law*, which tells us what we ought or ought not do, and the (3) *Civil Law*, which tells us what we must or must not do. The second and third types of laws will rest upon the first if they are to be both justified and effective. It seems that the whole of nature including human nature is governed by law. Of course, whoever would preclude miracle has a closed rather than an open mind upon the subject. Miracle itself, however, seems to be related to law inasmuch as it includes both cause and result, which is in part the nature of all law. It is very necessary in this connection to point out that both genuine Christianity and genuine science *demand* open mind. The Church's people have had their minds open to miracle, which has been good; they should also have them open to law. We are quite well along in the discovery and description of phenomena in the physical aspect of the universe, but are very far behind in the knowledge of the facts governing ourselves. Until we discover these facts governing human nature, we men must continue to be magical, superstitious, trial-and-error, rule-of-thumb, blundering, confused and chaotic. We are all of these and more at the present time, and our world is and has been in a very bad way. As has already been emphasized, we need more real Christianity. We need more faith in God, we will then have more in man; we need more faith in man, we will then have more in God. We need greater hope in God, we will then have more for man; we need more hope for man, we will then have more in God. We need more love toward God, we will then have more toward man; we need more love toward man, we will then have more toward God. So abideth faith, hope, and love, these three. We also need more real science. A mother may have hope and faith and may love her God, her fellowmen and her baby as much as mortal mothers can, but if the baby severs an artery she needs knowledge compatible with the emergency, or the child dies. This seems to be the trend today

in the long run with such and similar experiences, where even miracle, although it can, does not save. If this statement seems heretical, its validity may be verified by the observation of dozens of accidents about us almost every month, which end fatally. At the time this paper is being written, attempted trans-oceanic air flight, especially, is taking an excessively high rate of death toll. The statement does not apply to miraculous escapes which are saved, but to the many cases which are not saved. Some of these cases could be saved by timely application of what knowledge we possess; in others, we do not have the knowledge. And so it goes; throughout the gamut of human life we are suffering and dying because of the absence of sufficient and the right kind of faith, hope, love and,—knowledge. The finest knowledge will not by itself save us,—the only contention here is that we need all of life's best attributes, each helping the other out.

It is true that we already have much knowledge of some things, and that in face of this we continue to disobey and violate the laws of our existence. It is also true that we do not have knowledge of other things, and that there are people who are groping along and falling down because they do not know what to do nor how to do it, if they do know the thing to be done, who would not disobey and violate the laws of their God and of their own lives if they knew what they were. It is here that the knowledge of laws, which comes as a result of genuine scientific inquiry, is a substantial and increasingly necessary boon to the earnest Christian person, who not only desires to do the right thing, but who knows how to do it. And yet there are religious people today who set their faces against the acquisition of knowledge. In the King James Version of the Acts of the Apostles it is recorded that the Divine Voice came to Paul: "I am Jesus, . . . it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."<sup>11</sup> The same is being spoken in thousands of ways today, as in the day of Paul, with reference to His laws: I am God,

11 Acts 9:5.

it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. We quite often voluntarily and involuntarily do it, suffer and die; and then if it affects others, turn immediately around and abuse the glorious conception of Providence by contending that it was the Lord's Will that we men suffer and die, and that it must, therefore, be for the best. Sometimes people suffer and die and it seems to result for the best, but other times all the rationalizations of men fail to show how our Lord is so glorified. To say that we humans can not see it is often true indeed, but this is also another easy way of disposing of a tremendous problem. However, we would be satisfied if we only had enough faith to believe that God Himself can see that things are for the best when His laws are broken. The faith of some is to the end, rather, that God sees that things are for the best when knowledge of His laws is learned and heeded. Faith, hope and love, furthermore, demand the right kind of knowledge if they are to be for the best, or they become perverted. Such faith is not credulity, but a composite result of life's totality of experiences. "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge; because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will reject thee..."<sup>12</sup> Even here God seems to overcome evil with good and is merciful, but some time we may stop taking undue advantage of the mercy of our Lord and cease blaming Him for cutting short the lives of people who have kicked against the pricks and who have been unsuccessful.

The scientific method which discovers, observes, describes, classifies and generalizes the facts of human nature, or the laws of God in man, together with the resulting body of data, is known as social psychology. Besides many alleged purely individual reactions, this includes all sociological phenomena, for all sociology reduced to its lowest terms becomes social psychology. "In the hierarchy of the sciences, sociology, the last in time, was first in importance.... The earlier and more elementary sciences, particularly physics and chemistry,

12 Hosea 4:6.



had given man control over external nature; the last science, sociology, was to give man control over himself."<sup>13</sup> Human nature, as the rest of cosmic nature, has been understood to be subject to the operation of miracle, under conditions which have made it either real or apparent. Everywhere else, however, it appears that there has been law, and it is this generic law within man which social psychology seeks to discover and describe. Human nature, in the latter sense, is analagous to the earth which moves, but whose regular rotations are predictable and understood in the degree to which its laws are understood. "We may say that the aim of science is to describe natural phenomena and occurrences as exactly as possible, as simply as possible, as completely as possible, as consistently as possible, and always in terms which are communicable and verifiable."<sup>14</sup>

Insofar as possible we must know how God has made us, together with our own faith, hope and love, if we are going to advance in various phases of our existence. When we learn more about God's laws in human life we will discover that what we think we ought or ought not do, and what we must or must not do, will by necessity, if they are to be done at all, be based upon what we can or can not do. People throughout the Christian Church should come to realize that mind, muscle and money can be either better saved or spent in accordance with the way that God's laws are learned and respected. The Word of the Lord will not return unto Him void; if things are done His way.<sup>15</sup> Preaching, teaching, worship, religious education, missions, benevolence, organizations, and administrative and executive work of the Church will all make more rapid progress when Christian people learn to work with God. There are many people who have "a zeal for God, but not according to

13 Park, R. E. and Burgess, E. W.: *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 6, 2.

14 Thompson: *The System of Animate Nature*, p. 8, 9.

15 Cf. Isaiah 55:6-13.



knowledge,"<sup>16</sup> who need to "come to the knowledge of the truth."<sup>17</sup>

To the end that more and better knowledge may be acquired relative to the diversified phases of human life as it in one way or another comes within the domain of Christian experience and activity, a number of the best books are listed here.

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<sup>16</sup> Romans 10:2, Standard Revised Version.

<sup>17</sup> I Timothy 2:3, 4, Standard Revised Version.

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MODERN PROBLEMS OF CHURCH AND STATE<sup>1</sup>

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Not very long ago an Episcopal clergyman wrote in the *Atlantic Monthly* that "the crack of doom has sounded for Protestantism, that it is shivering on its foundations, and that this generation will see the total collapse of Protestantism as an organized religious force." One of the reasons given by this critic was that Protestantism has come to rely upon legislation more than upon its inherent spiritual forces.

As ministers in the church we are used to criticisms. They are at times well meant, helpful and constructive, and we are thankful for such corrective tendency. At other times the criticisms may be ridiculous, being merely the product of an unsympathetic mind. But between the two extremes which are easily evaluated and accepted or ignored, as the occasion may call for, there is a field of sincere, but ill-conceived criticism, based on a confusion of terms and institutions, to which I want to draw attention. It is concerned with the place which the church occupies in political life. Some expect the church to be the bringer of salvation for every kind of social ill. Whether it is a strike, control of amusements, or the League of Nations, certain people expect the church to come out and make its influence felt in every possible way, while others contend that the church is overstepping its line if it does more than appeal to the conscience in a formal, prescribed, and approved manner. Facing this situation, we are confronted by the modern problems of Church and State.

In days gone by, Church and State were concerned in determining their respective superiority. Egoism and

1 A paper read before the Pastors' and Students' Conference, Fremont, Nebraska, 1927.

intolerance were to a great extent the marks of both. During colonial days in this country came the problem of their gradual separation, which was accepted by the new-born nation. There seemed to be peace between the two institutions during the early part of our history. Just when it appeared as though State and Church had each settled down to attend to its own sphere of activities, the calamity of a decade ago brought about a heretofore, at least to this generation, unknown agitation between the two.

There were the notorious language laws in twenty-two of the states, which have since been annulled by the United States Supreme Court. The right of existence of private schools caused much ill feeling, and had to be settled by the same high tribunal, which declared itself to be in favor of religious freedom and the right of parents over their children. Still pending is the question of anti-evolution legislation in several States. The greatest uncertainty, however, seems to exist in regard to the reading of the Bible in public schools, and the dismissal of children during school hours to receive religious instruction. Who shall rule? is the question which has become serious in our day. Who shall rule: the letter of a theoretically godless State, or the spirit permeating a sensitive group of religious people, living close to God, within the State? We shall find the answer to this question if we leave the surface manifestations of the friction between Church and State, and go to the very heart of the situation. There we find the less apparent, but nevertheless greater problems in the relationship of the two. These fundamental problems have to be brought into light in order to face intelligently the battles between the two forces which the future promises to bring in the field of national, state and municipal politics in increasing measure, not to mention the international implications.

The first and fundamental problem in our day consists in an insufficient acquaintance with the nature and office

of Church and State, and how both may exist side by side complimentary to each other.

#### WHAT IS THE STATE?

In countries with more or less despotic governments the question is soon answered by the maxim that in all affairs pertaining to the national life the State is supreme. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers" is the inspired proof of their claim. To ask then what the nature of the State is would have little practical value for the average citizen living in such a country. It is different in this country with its entirely new departure in the theory and practice of Church and State, both existing independently of each other.

This most ideal relationship of the two as we find it among us will be more appreciated, the more we realize that man does not exist for the State, but the State for man. Inquire into the origin of the State and all doubts and uncertainties will vanish. While no one has yet assumed authority to put his finger upon any historical fact and call it the origin of state government, there is no doubt among the students of political science that all traces lead back to the family as the unit and beginning of the State. A simple description of the State would be then that it is "a number of families bound together." As this definition may not satisfy the trained mind we may add Woodrow Wilson's: "A state is a people organized within a definite territory." There are of course more elaborate definitions of the state, but these two will suffice for our purpose to understand its nature.

While we shall never be called upon to start or organize a state, we are nevertheless called upon to do what amounts to practically the same thing, namely to secure the safety and to increase the efficiency for the common good of the State or human society in which we live. For the real understanding of the problems with which we are concerned as citizens and Christians it may be emphasized that civil society is not organized from the State

downward. The doctrine that man was made for the State is the basis of all the monarchies and despotisms on earth. There was a time when no other theory of government had any practical application. It was the basis of Sparta's politics. It was the backbone of Plato's civil creed. It was, and is to-day, the justifier of all conquest for dominion.

We recognize today and live by the fact that the State is a necessity, an agency, a means, and not a first cause. I state this in order to make it clear that statutes and constitutions are not supreme, but only more or less complete expressions of what man has learned of higher and as yet largely unwritten laws, the laws of life, of being, of happiness. Speaking before the Council of Congregational Churches in Washington, D. C., in 1925, President Coolidge urged this fact upon his hearers: "If the people are the government, it cannot rise above them." For the State therefore to acknowledge no law higher than itself is monstrous, and is to be feared. On such a basis it has always been a tyrant. It is a matter of fact that the individual in history has suffered most frequently by oppression from his own government, and this because it refused to recognize its obligation to the divine law, the unwritten constitution of the human race. Wherever written or established civil principles have been out of harmony with fundamental qualities in human nature, however universally they may have been accepted, they have always led into calamities. The normal needs of body and heart and mind are divinely fixed factors, and all arrangements of the State must have reference to them, or fail.

The object of the State is to protect man in his rights, and in his freedom to live consistently with his true self and with the end for which he was made. According to this view, our subordination to the State is not a subjection to a body of men, not to human arbitrariness, not to the whims and wantonness of a group of politicians: it is a submission, and should be a devotion to something

that is, in its inmost self and true nature, a divinely fixed arrangement.

#### WHAT IS THE CHURCH?

Putting the question: What is the Church? we are quick to answer that "it is the communion of saints, and is to be found wherever the gospel is taught in its purity and the sacraments are rightly administered." To the Calvinist it is "a company elected to life," and to the Romanist it is identified with his visible organization. No such conception and definition has weight when Church and State are considered together, because in the eyes of the government the Church is simply a corporation, the term church implying "any religious body organized to sustain public worship." It includes "the whole society of worshipping Christians; all the multifarious denominations or societies of those professing the Christian faith, no matter what their varying shades of belief or doctrine may be, and no matter with what ceremony or absence of ceremonies their faith may be evinced."

As for the purpose of the Church, which can be defined only by each religious organization according to its particular conception, the answer which our United Lutheran Church commissioners to the World Conference on Faith and Order, held this year in Switzerland, had prepared, may give us a comprehensive picture. They said: "The divine purpose of the Church is to be the agency by which Christ, through the Holy Spirit, reconciles men to God by bringing them to faith in Him, extends God's sovereignty over their wills, imparts to them His own holiness, and unites them in love, so that God's name may be hallowed, His Kingdom come, and His will be done on earth as it is in heaven." May it be observed that this statement implies the absoluteness of God on the one hand, and on the other man's incapacity to bring about his own salvation.

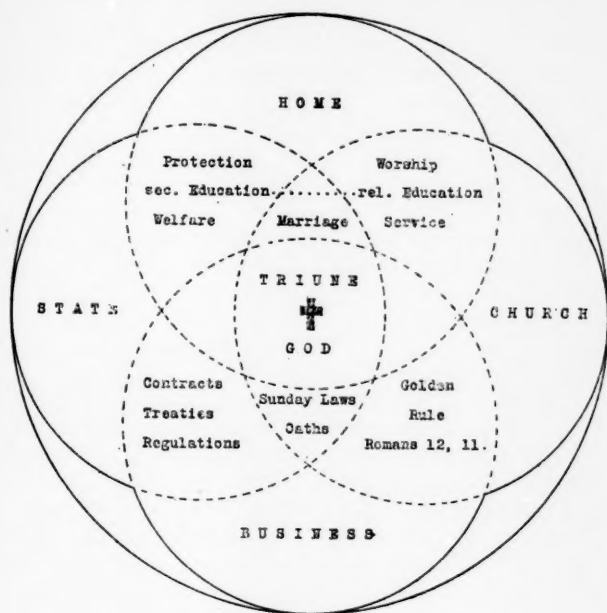
## COORDINATING CHURCH AND STATE

After these preliminary statements we may now turn to the real problem of coördinating the spheres and purposes of the two institutions. Are they exclusive of each other, or inclusive? If the latter, then how far? There are two extreme doctrines on this question. The one speaks of the absolute separation of the two, not allowing them to touch each other in any way, the other refusing to fulfill the plain duties of citizenship unless Christ is made the constitutional sovereign of the country. We ask where we stand, and then we realize the vital importance of both institutions. This fact may be appreciated still more if one puts it this way; the separation of Church and State does not mean the separation of religion from the national life. There is an absolute separation of the two in matters of administration, but beyond that we have difficulty in keeping the two apart; this constitutes the problem with which we are here concerned.

To illustrate, one may begin with the individual. In what capacity are we assembled when in church, as citizens or members of the body of Christ? If as members of His body, do we cease to be citizens? No. Suppose we attend a political meeting, primarily as citizens, does that mean that we forget the obligations we have assumed as children of God and witnesses for Christ? The man who elects today a delegate to synod and tomorrow another to attend a political convention, is he changing or adjusting his personality for the two occasions? It is always the same person, and will always act in accordance with the highest authority which he knows. In his life there can be but one sovereign. Or, as Dr. Henry Offermann, in an article on "Life in the Beatitudes," speaking of the two worlds in which we virtually move concludes: "The ideal life is not an ellipse, with two focal points, but a circle with but one center, from which the life radiates to all parts of the circumference. That center of life is God Himself."



To visualize this problem as it confronts us as Christians and citizens, the accompanying diagram may serve.



Life as a unit with its true Center, showing the overlapping of its various spheres

The outer circle stands for the limitation of our earthly life, taking it for granted that it is part of the eternal. Life is one, all other spheres of life are but departments or divisions in the larger sphere, departments which cannot be separated by any hard and fast rule. You will observe that all divisions have a sphere in which the others have no share, but that at one point or the other they do touch, and that in one place they all converge. This centre of our life represents our sovereign; all other spheres, as home-life, our church connection, business

practices and citizenship, are governed by it. This sovereign may be found in the category which our catechism calls secret idolatry. It is committed by all who put their own self or objects of this world above the will of God. Their life may be governed by secret ambition, political or otherwise, by expediency, or by what has come to be called the almighty dollar. Whatever this secret idolatry and sovereignty may be, all spheres of our life are governed by it. We conclude that who—or whatsoever is the centre of our religious life is also the centre and authority in our political life. We cannot be Christ's servants in church and not show it in our home, business, and political life. Separation of Church and State in this respect is impossible. Life and its sovereignty cannot be divided. With this fact in mind we shall now proceed to find in how far the spheres of church and State overlap.

What is the interrelation of Church and State? A correct answer we may expect from the students of problems of government. James Bryce, who in his *American Commonwealth* has shown himself one of the world's most clear-thinking observers of governmental problems, says in his work on *Modern Democracies*: "Whosoever tries to describe popular government as it is now and has been in the past, cannot pass over in silence the strongest of all the forces by which governments have been affected." With one stroke of the pen he gives his readers to understand that religion, whether through established or free churches, makes its influence felt in the life of a people. He continues: "When roused, it can overpower considerations of personal interest, and triumph over the fear of death itself." Another authority in this field, A. N. Holcomb, sees the overlapping of the two forces in this light:

"In the last analysis the authority of church and state alike is what men believe it to be. The boundary between them cannot be determined once for all.... It must be determined in each case by the conscience and will of the body of people directly concerned. Both forms of human association derive their vitality from the willingness of men to obey the authority which they respect. The

nature of the state, as of the church, is ultimately determined by the habitual conduct of its members.... If men believe that their spiritual obligations to the church have a stronger claim upon them than their temporal obligations to the state, the authority of the state, so far as those men are concerned, will give way before that of the church in all matters which they regard as appropriate for ecclesiastical rather than political control."

This author, considering legal sovereignty a fiction of the lawyers, declares that "political sovereignty in any particular community is that degree of power which opinion tolerates in the rulers." From this view one may justly make the deduction that the freedom and responsibility of an elected government are limited, for it is not appointed to act entirely according to its own wisdom or desire, but rather to interpret and carry out the will of the people. The members of a government may not act quite as they would like to, but are bound by limits set by the public will. They can, of course, influence public thought, and are in an advantageous position to do so; and they have a margin of liberty between what would be too far behind and what would be too far ahead of public opinion; but broadly and ultimately the responsibility lies with the people. While to the State belongs political sovereignty, and the Church retains supreme authority in purely spiritual matters, the acknowledgment of the ecclesiastical authority may be as real and effective as that of the secular government, though it does not have the latter's police powers. Geffken in his work on *Church and State* lays down this general principle for the proper blending of the two institutions:

"The difficulty is therefore so to regulate the relations between the state and the religious communities as to give the latter, on the one hand, full freedom of development within the limits of morality and a general system of law; and, on the other, to unite with those communities for moral objects, which are of such vital importance to national life. To achieve this, there cannot exist, as every one will understand, any abstract formula; the mode of regulating these relations must be guided by the peculiar circumstances of the country or the people."

Another representative utterance concerning the relationship of the Church to the national life, will help us to

understand its true nature. It is George Washington who says in his farewell address:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. A volume could not trace all their connections with public and private felicity."

To add here the voice of a present-day keen analyst of American conditions, Roger W. Babson, may not be amiss. Not so very long ago he stated in one of his articles:

"The need of the hour is not factories or materials, not more railroads or steamships, but rather more education based on the plain teachings of Jesus. The prosperity of our country depends on the motives and purposes of the people. These motives and purposes are directed in the right course only through religion. Religion, like everything else, must be taught. With the forces of evil backed by men and money, systematically organized to destroy, we must back with men and money, all campaigns for Christian education. We are willing to give our property and even our lives when our country calls in time of war. Yet the call of Christian education is to-day of even greater importance than was ever the call of the army or of the navy."

The nationally known specialist in this field, Walter S. Athern of Boston University School of Religious Education in address delivered January 21, 1927, before the Third Annual Conference on Character Education at Indianapolis declared that the work of the public school must conform to the will of the people, and concluded:

"In so far as morality is dependent upon religion in so far as the public school incompetent to guarantee the moral integrity of the nation. It must have the aid of the church. The education of the children in a nation committed to the principle of the separation of church and state is a shared responsibility. The church and state are allies, not competitors. Mutual co-operation is the ideal method."

The late Dr. George U. Wenner, of New York City, has done pioneer work and gone a long way toward that ideal of mutual coöperation. This is then the practical side of the overlapping of the spheres of Church and

State; it shows that in practical life it is impossible to draw a sharp line of separation between the two institutions. This delicate connection which thus exists leads us to the consideration of another problem concerning which there is much uncertainty.

#### SHALL THE CHURCH FOSTER LEGISLATION?

What is the object of written legislation in a political society? The statutes of a free people are the general expressions of the will of that people as to human rights, that is, the right of the individual as related to the whole. Legislative authority takes hold of custom and opinion, and formulates them into a written code. Legislation must be the product of the popular will. It lives and dies by the same. The laws of a people grow out of that people. Wherever legislative enactments have been trying to mold a people the effort has proved a failure. The earliest period of church history and France and Russia may stand as examples; and above all let us not forget our own colonial and early national history. Human nature will never outgrow the temper which in the past has produced clashes between government and the governed. In all beneficial government the source of written legislation is directly in the people. Recent decisions by the United States Court in the Oregon private school case, and the Nebraska and other state school laws have demonstrated the recognition of this fact by our highest tribunal.

This principle was expressed by the President on the occasion mentioned above when he said:

"The disposition in many quarters to-day has been to make the people 'good' through legislative enactment.... unless the people are fundamentally 'good,' are fundamentally governed by a sense of morality founded upon religious faith, there is little chance that the laws themselves can be properly enforced.... Religion is the stay of law, order and government, the solution of all the difficulties arising from an inadequate conception of liberty and its responsibilities, the solvent of the laxity which has followed upon the heels of the war."

As one learned from published reports of the address, President Coolidge expresses his belief in the necessity of a growing reliance for the political success of our government upon the religious convictions of our people. He speaks of the increasing complexities and interdependence of modern life, and emphasizes that lawlessness is altogether too prevalent, and a lack of respect for government and the conventions of enlightened society is altogether too apparent. The law can go a long way in repressing crime, but the utmost ingenuity on the part of the police powers will be substantially all wasted, in an effort to enforce the law, if there does not exist a strong and vigorous determination on the part of the people to observe the law. Such a determination can not be produced by the government, it is furnished by religion.

These pronouncements by the President as they were reported in the daily press coincide with the statement of our commission on the purpose of the church, in so far that it declares the will of man's spiritual sovereign as the only sufficient guide in affairs of human society. How then shall it be brought about that God's will will ultimately be reflected by governmental legislation in a way which does not hitch the cart before the horse, but makes God-pleasing legislation the upshot of a God-fearing society?

Various answers are given by the different tendencies in religious circles of the country. The first and most extreme is that given by the Reformed Presbyterians, sometimes called the Covenanter Church, who are agitating for a change in the Constitution of the United States to read as follows: "We, the people of the United States, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of power and authority in civil government, our Lord Jesus as the ruler of nations, and His revealed will as the supreme authority in civil affairs, do hereby ordain," etc. From one of their leaflets we learn:

"The Covenanter Church in the United States requires as a condition of membership the acceptance of the position of political separation. This means that her members may not accept any

civil office or trust in which there is required an oath of allegiance to the present Constitution of the United States nor vote for any officer who is required to take such an oath. This condition of membership is founded upon two things, viz.: a scriptural doctrine and an undeniable fact. The spiritual doctrine is that the Lord Jesus Christ, as Mediator, is the divinely appointed King of Nations, and that His law as revealed in the Bible is the supreme rule by which to decide moral issues in political life. The undeniable fact is that the Constitution of the United States contains no recognition of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Nation's King, nor of the authority of His law, and that it contains provisions which are hostile to His royal prerogatives. The Church maintains this position of political separation in the spirit of patriotic devotion to our country, and of supreme loyalty to our Lord."

While we may recognize the truth contained in the principle which makes them radicals in their policy of non-coöperation with the State, we can not follow them in their conclusions. Our Lord made it plain that His Kingdom does not depend upon outer forms of organizations or statecraft. It was the mistake of the Jews in His day, and there is a danger to imitate them today. The Kingdom of God is life, and life incarnates itself in no one type of organization but breaks into many forms, of which the Church and State peopled by Christians are but a few. Think of the conclusions which E. Stanley Jones draws in his book *The Christ of the Indian Road*; we find the Kingdom, in a measure, apart from both of them.

In extreme opposition to this view of the Covenanters is the one sponsored in certain portions of our Lutheran Church. According to its defenders it is thought best that Church and state should assume and observe an attitude of utter indifference with respect to each other. They hold that the less notice the one takes of the other, the better it will be for both. The one is for the body, they say, and for the things of this life; the other is for the soul, and for the things of the life to come. Let the one rule the body, and the other rule the soul, and each rule without any regard to the other. That to them is the short and simple solution of the Church and State question; as though the State had for citizens bodies

without souls, so that these it could entirely disregard, and as though the Church had for its members souls without bodies, and had nothing to do with bodily concerns. This attitude is difficult to vindicate when confronted with practical life.

We need only to remember that the Kingdom is no more created downward than the State, but begins with the individual and only from him passes into a social form. Such conception will lead us away from unsound views and practices. Let us remember the answer Jesus gave to the men who asked of Him "when the Kingdom of God cometh." His words can leave no doubt on this point. "He answered and said, 'The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation, neither shall they say, Lo, here, or, there; for lo, the Kingdom of God is within you.'" In the New Testament the material conception of the Kingdom, as found in the Old Testament in forms adapted to the religious development of that day, is done away with, and the Kingdom appears to us now in its pure spirituality. Let us keep this in mind as we proceed to examine the other tendency, which is organized to arouse sufficient Christian sentiment in order to influence legislation effectively in its favor. We are now brought to the next problem of modern times.

#### THE CHURCH IN POLITICS

Several religious organizations have made it their aim to influence politics and actual legislation in their favor. They are the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, the more recent World's Christian Fundamentals Association, which has assigned to itself the task of advocating anti-evolution laws in every State of the Union, the Lord's Day Alliance, and, we may mention, the social service commissions in various Protestant, chiefly reformed, denominations. What we are confronted with in this respect is simply the continuation of John Calvin's work in Geneva: well-meant and bene-



ficial for a time, but out of harmony with the principles of human nature which govern its gregariousness. Whatever glories have been achieved through theocratic legislation have been shortlived. All well-wishers should consider history and learn the lesson. However, before passing judgment upon this form of contact between church and state let us hear what its advocates and opponents have to say. The press has been alive with the issue in recent years, and entrenchments are taking place in camps.

One of the outstanding clashes in after-war days which has come to the attention of the general public occurred when Dr. Macfarland, General Secretary of the Federal Council, sent to members of Congress a letter containing the resolution of the Administrative Committee of the Council, protesting against the termination of the agreement with Japan without conference, and suggested that whatever steps be taken in regard to the Japanese immigration should be taken "in a friendly and considerate way." Congressman Tinkham was filled with resentment and indignation when he read Dr. Macfarland's letter presuming to advise in relation to a "purely secular matter." From the Congressman's letter which was published in the *Christian Work* I quote:

"The action of certain churches, of certain denominations, or I might more properly say, of certain leaders of certain denominations, in passing resolutions in relation to legislation of a secular character and of raising funds to be used for political elections, is indefensible.

"It is my settled opinion that some of the great lawlessness and actual crime in this country to-day is directly caused by the loss of respect for the church and its teachings on the part of the people, because churches, abandoning spiritual affairs and direction, have become quasi-political institutions. As respect for the church and its teachings declines, so must its authority over the hearts and consciences of men diminish."

A more recent attack upon the political activities of the Council was launched only a few days before our last Congress adjourned. Representative Free of California introduced a resolution calling for an investigation of

this national organization. In this resolution the Council is charged with being "a dangerous organization, and that it is a radical and subversive body." It is charged that it is closely allied with communist and pacifist organizations in the country, that it coöperates with the Anti-Saloon League, opposes military training, and exclusion of the Japanese under the immigration law, and that it lobbied for and put through the Senate resolutions favoring arbitration of the difficulties with Mexico. Although the resolution died with the passing of the Sixty-ninth Congress it has caused a wide-spread comment by the press.

Bishop Charles Fiske of the New York Episcopal Church sides with these critics of the politically inclined clergy. In an article in *Harper's Magazine* he draws a sharp distinction between the duties of the preacher and the duties of the politician. He finds nothing in the Gospel to warrant the Church in entering the political arena to fight its battles. He claims that churches have become party organizations, led by skilled ecclesiastical politicians, and condoning practices quite as objectionable as any indulged in by politicians of the common variety. He writes:

"One thing, and one thing only, and one thing always, the church ought to do; and I make this protest to call it back to that task. It is this: To induce us all to think of our citizenship, to make us all deeply prayerful in facing its duties and responsibilities, to make us profoundly conscientious in the exercise of its privileges, to give us all a right motive, to fill us with determination not to shirk our obligations, to charge us with spiritual energy to labor unceasingly not for our individual salvation only, but for our country's welfare and our neighbors' good."

One more criticism and then we call the defense. It is pointed at the Methodist Board, mentioned above, with its headquarters on Capitol Hill in Washington, D. C. W. Pezet, literary editor of the *Forum*, asserts that the Methodist Church is violating the Jeffersonian principle that church and state should be forever separate and is now holding a seat of temporal power in Washington. What does this Methodist Board do? Through its weekly

clip-sheet, we are told, 20,000 ministers are informed of the trend of moral affairs at the Capitol. This clip-sheet gives them the views of the secretaries and the official views of the Board regarding pending or proposed legislation involving moral issues, and furnishes them material for sermons. Inevitably it influences their views on many subjects about which they would otherwise be forced to form opinions as all ordinary citizens do from the newspapers, the opinion of associates, and personal prejudice. Through these 20,000 ministers, it is asserted, the opinions of the Board and its secretaries are passed on to the 5,000,000 church-goers. From its well-placed key-men throughout the country the Board receives confidential information regarding the state of public opinion on these moral matters. It thus creates public opinion, and then acts as the legislative lobby for the opinion its own propaganda has created. This editor of the *Forum* further asserts that the Board admits that it exercises influence with regard to legislation bearing upon public morals.

"Within this category we find the Board active and interested in Prohibition in all its aspects and endless ramifications; in Sunday closing laws; in censorship of moving-pictures, theatres, books, and periodicals; in the drug traffic; in gambling; in education; in child labor; in white slave traffic; in marriage and divorce. In all such matters its point of view is the Methodist point of view, and opinions it expresses are the opinions of Methodists, shared only by Presbyterians, Baptists, and some other evangelical sects."

Now, what can be said in defense of these confessedly political church activities? In the first place there are members of Congress itself who are urging the church to push desirable legislation by propaganda from the pulpit, so that the law of God may become the law of the land. Senator M. Johnson, speaking before the Churchmen's League of Washington, advised his hearers to prove that they are really interested in the promotion of peace by taking action to make peace effective. He goes so far as to say "the church should take the initiative in legislative problems." The peace problems in Europe should be considered by the churches.

Another nationally known person, Bishop Brent, speaking before the Episcopalian Synod of New York advocated political propaganda from the pulpit, by letter and lobbying. "The large majority of church members," he said, "favor influencing legislatures to obtain necessary laws. No methods have been formally approved, but the purpose is clear. Church and state are working toward a common goal, and can not be separated. There should be a common movement, a blending of effort."

*The Christian Register*, commenting upon Bishop Brent's utterance, said this:

"We might as well face the issue, there is great need for direct work at legislative centers to combat interests seeking selfish ends inimical to the welfare of the people. The religious motive must determine the legislation for the democratic states and their people.... The religious motive does largely determine what shall be the law of the land.... The religious motive is still supreme because the state is a religious institution. If it were a merely economic or business organization, who would give his life for the state? No one can change the dominance of religion in political life."

The affirmative would not be complete if the principal character, introduced before, were not heard. How does Dr. Macfarland defend his aggressive attitude in legislative affairs? He answers in substance that the Federal Council does not consider any question involving principles of right and justice as being secular. Such questions are regarded as moral and therefore inherently religious and coming under Christian ethics. This question of the Japanese exclusion law surely involves questions of right and justice. The Federal Council was constituted by its denominational bodies "to secure a larger combined influence for the Churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social conditions of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life."

Of his opponents the doctor asks:

"As our feeling is that this legislation (the Japanese Exclusion Act) runs counter to the efforts of the churches to maintain social justice, do you not think, therefore, that they have not only a right

but a duty to protest and petition? .... The Administrative Committee regarded the immigration proposal with resentment and indignation just as you do their action.... What is the use of proclaiming justice unless you can apply it to concrete cases?... The leaders of the Church are tired of preaching justice in theory and closing their eyes to injustice in practice. If an act of Congress violates a treaty, it is an injustice. Even if you disagree with their interpretation, you surely would want them to express their judgment from the point of view of the Christian principles to which they are committed. In any event, surely Christian ethics are not left entirely to be determined by Congress."

Quoting another authority he says: "The business of the Church embraces the whole scope of life, and inasmuch as legislation registers the focusing and formulation of public opinion with respect to social needs, it is the business of the Church to see to it that, as far as it has influence, such legislation should have a Christian soul."

Repudiating the thought of an investigation of the activities of the Federal Council, the *Chicago Evening Post* defends the organization editorially in these words:

"The Federal Council should be complimented by this display of interest in its work. It means that the influence of united Christianity is beginning to be felt upon the life of the country.... The Federal Council is an organization to which twenty-nine denominations send delegates. It is an organization designed to represent the community of interest which exists among differing creeds and differing polities; to voice the faith of the churches on agreed essentials and fundamental principles.

"Of course, the accusation that it is an instrument of propaganda is wholly true. Propaganda is the business of the Christian religion. 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel,' was the marching order of its Founder. To charge the Federal Council with efficiency in propaganda is to pay it high tribute. The trouble is that some people are necessarily disturbed whenever the Gospel is preached with practical application to human problems. If these Christians would confine their exercises to praying, singing and sermonizing in the abstract, nobody would object. It is when they begin to put in practice what they preach that they become dangerous.

"The Federal Council is endeavoring to educate the thought and spirit of the American people away from war, away from reliance upon force. That can not be done without running counter to those who regard such a movement as futile; to those who believe

that war is inevitable and that the germ of violence is ineradicable from the blood of nations. But so to believe is to deny the faith which the Christian Churches of America profess."

#### THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS

What shall the attitude of the Christian be? There are three possibilities. One is to throw Christian idealism over board and leave the adjustment of religion to the national life to future generations. This is practiced by those who command spiritual silence in the presence of whatever the government does. With great solemnity they will say: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers."

A second attitude is to repudiate the real world one is living in; this is aimed at by the Covenanters. The third is to take Paul's example and counsel and seek to behave as citizens in a manner worthy of the Gospel, believing that our present duty is to be Christians, not in some other world, but in this one, and that this duty can be done in the highest loyalty both to human society and to Christ.

To describe the desirable attitude of the believer in politics it will be necessary to put out of the way possible preconception. Whenever we read or hear the well known phrase "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers", many of us are struck with awe and think that settles it. We must not venture any opinion contrary to the view and propaganda of the administration. Monarchies and despotic governments have loved this, if no other, passage of the Scripture, torn from its context, and interpreted in a way which makes government by the people a difficult task.

Let us remember that shortly after the above, Paul writes: "Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil." Yet, did not his own government turn into a terror for him? and for what—for the evil or for the good? Concerning the cause leading to his arrest we read that he was "accused of questions regarding their law" (Acts 23:29). He was no longer a conservative, but ap-

peared as an object for governmental censure, and worse than that. Paul gives us the example that there is a limit of obedience to the agency of human government, called the state. For his spiritual children at Ephesus he prays "that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ may give the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him. . . . and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power . . . far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come: and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all" (Ephes. 1: 16-23).

How does Paul appear to the state authorities of his day? In Acts 24:5 we find them leading Paul before the governor with these words: "We have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarene." In the course of his defense Paul answered: "Herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men." Here is the prospect of the believer, who says with Paul, "Not I, but Christ liveth in me"; he will call upon himself the displeasure of those who are guided in their political life by nothing but expediency. Similar tendencies in political life are evidenced in Henry Thoreau's *The Duty of Civil Disobedience*, and what in the present time Mahatma Ghandi pleases to call "civil resistance." For the believer it simply means to obey God rather than follow human devices.

What was Paul's standard in adjusting his relationship to human society round about him? Not the conventions of his day; he stood above them. Not even his own conscience, but the Lord. He writes to the Corinthians: "With me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment; yea I judge not mine own self. For I know nothing by myself; yet am I not hereby



justified; but he that judgeth me is the Lord" (2 Cor. 4:34).

Let us draw a practical conclusion for the present. What is the actual condition among the ministers of the gospel who should be living above the general trend of public opinion, close to their Lord? Our awful experience ten years ago has shown that a great number of them are guided not by him who is the Way, the Truth and the Life, but by propaganda dished out to an undiscerning public. Confessions along this line have been made in sufficient number to warrant the statement. Did those who could not rise above the mob in serious times not appeal to their consciences? They surely did what they thought to be right. So did St. Paul as he witnessed the stoning of Stephen. But Paul had learned that he could not trust his conscience. So we today must learn not to accept our conscience as an infallible guide. What may seem right to us today may be regretted tomorrow. Paul had no scruples in persecuting the Christians. In our lives as citizens we must be able to rise above popular thought and realize "He that judgeth is the Lord." When this ideal becomes a passion with the millions of true believers, political society will experience a revival which will leave no one in doubt concerning the balance of power in the church and state relationship, or, to avoid misunderstanding, the relationship of true religion to national life.

A question which should be answered may yet be hovering in our minds. What external agency should be used to carry out Christ's will in the political world? The answer should be: None in particular. We do not condemn those who find it proper to set up nation-wide church organizations for the dissemination of desirable propaganda. But is it necessary? The best we can do is so to live our faith, that people will see our good works. If we want people to love our religion and the principles by which we are guided, we must use lovely ways, and practice what we preach. In other words, do not force them into accepting our views and practices, but create



a demand for them, that they may come and join the believer in Christian practices joyfully. As long as antagonists find cause to criticise organized Christianity for meddling in politics, the church's aim is partly defeated, even if there are apparent victories. Let us use the example of Paul and the Master Himself. Both were from the political point of view failures, yet the universal acceptance of their teaching would make new history for this old world.

Such policy may not show the fruits of our endeavors in a lifetime, but eternity will tell how we have been serving the King. If we are guided by the ideals of the Master we shall find that they will resolve into reality more lasting and acceptable than anything which human devices may create. The real battle-ground is the heart of man. From there alone will Christian ideals work their way into the social and political fabric.

"Not by might, not by force, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord."

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE  
IN MEXICO<sup>1</sup>

MILES H. KRUMBINE

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

## I

My introduction to Mexico was very abrupt. It was Sunday afternoon. Our group had written assurances from the Consul General in New York that we would be neither molested nor annoyed by customs or immigration inspection; that everything was arranged to have us go through to Mexico City with a maximum of comfort and confidence. The immigration officer did not understand it that way, nor did the customs officer. Our bags were carefully scrutinized, and when the blond immigration officer discovered that several of us were clergymen, he said very curtly, "I have instructions from my superior to admit no clergymen." We argued; we waved our very official document from the above named officer in his face, but he stood firm and shook his head; so we waited. It took a telegram from no less a personage than President Calles to admit us into the country. When we were admitted, twenty-four hours later, every clergyman in our group signed a statement that we would perform no public religious act while in the Republic of Mexico; that we would marry no one; confirm no one; baptize no one, and preach no sermon; that we would in no way express ourselves in public on the current trend in political life, and that we would, above all things, make no comment on the personalities of the present government. Plainly there was something happening in the Republic south of the Rio Grande.

Once across the border, the more timid of us expected

1 The *Stuckenberg Lecture* delivered at Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, March 18, 1927.

a liberal assortment of bayonets and machine guns, mounted troops and a display of the military, sprinkled here and there along our route of travel. It was toward the end of July; the papers were printing ominous items; the tang of revolt was in the air. To our surprise we found none of these things.

When we got to Mexico City we did find great crowds of people on the streets, moving towards the churches in every direction: from early morning until the churches closed at the evening hour, a steady procession of mothers with babes in their rebozos to be presented for baptism; girls in white and boys in black, bearing candles in their hands, going to their confirmation; young couples with a gay spirit driving to the church for a marriage, hastened by the impending event. In the churches one saw at every confessional long lines waiting their turn, three of them, one on either side of the confessional, the other in front. All because the priests were not officiate beginning Sunday, August 1st, three days hence.

I stood one evening at five-thirty at a certain point in the cathedral of Mexico City, the largest cathedral on the American continent, north and south, and, watch in hand, I counted the number of people that passed me in a given moment, moving in one direction. It was not the most travelled point in the cathedral. Estimating on the basis of the number of people that passed me in one minute, in ten hours sixty thousand people would have entered that cathedral that day. The estimate is, perhaps, exaggerated, but it indicates the great crowds that were taking advantage of these last days to have religious services rendered them.

With certain notable exceptions the spirit displayed was not one of solemnity. There were no signs of tragedy, if one excepts the pathetic counting of coppers that could be seen before any church, as the Indian father searched for one more copper to make up the allotted assessment for the particular services his wife desired, usually for their children. The Mexican people, at least the Indians who compose the major portion of the popu-

lation, are a sad-faced if not a broken-spirited people. Nearly four hundred years of subjection by foreign overlords has taken out of them that sense of initiative and self-confidence which one finds in more enlightened countries. They rarely smile, and when they do their smile is touched with sadness. It is necessary to bear in mind this fact to gain a conception of the attempt of the present government. It is an attempt to reconstitute the spirit of the Mexican. It is frankly an attempt to arouse a spirit of nationalism. After a month in Mexico one feels that while nationalism may be a major vice in a land such as ours, it is a primary virtue in Mexico.

## II

Many of the priests ceased functioning July 31st to enable the proper persons to make an adequate inventory of the possessions of the church before the church property would be turned over to the Government on Sunday, August 1st. The hierarchy interpreted this turning over of the churches' properties as a committing of them into the hands of the faithful. On Friday, July 30th, the last day of public services, several of us went to the famous shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe. This is the most sacred spot in Mexico, at least to the Indian. Just as Puebla is the great colonial shrine, so Guadalupe is the center of Indian religious inspiration. In the days of the Aztecs it was a center for the sacrifice of children to the Tlaloques, the gods of rain. On Tepeyac stood the temple of Tonantzin, the protectress of Tonanqui Indians, the goddess of earth and corn. Tonantzin was a woman, a virgin. She was the "woman of the snake." This primitive religious symbol became "Eve, our mother, who was tricked by the serpent." Bishop Zumárraga did not accomplish the conversion of the Indian until, by the aid of a superstitious Indian, Juan Diego, he succeeded in establishing the notion that the virgin had appeared to Juan in a vision. A fountain gushed forth where the virgin appeared. About this fountain was erected a

beautiful church of yellow and azure tiles, "a perfect gem of Mudéjar art." Today a great church draws to itself the faithful, not only at the famous Indian festival of December 12th, but throughout the year. Here it is that fanaticism would show itself if anywhere in Mexico.

We were warned by friends that it might be dangerous for foreigners to show themselves at this particular time at so sacred a place. The little village of Guadalupe was crowded with the faithful. We made our way slowly through the crowds in the streets to the church. The usual scene was repeated there, except that one could notice a seriousness and a solemnity not so evident at the other churches. Women with outstretched arms made their way on their knees from the door up the aisles to the high altar, repeating their prayers, half audibly, as they went. One was impressed with the evident seriousness of these people. Although it might be superstitious it was all these people had to tie to in the way of hope and faith. Were one to judge Mexico by Guadalupe one's verdict would undoubtedly be that its people are a very devout and pious folk. Guadalupe is a place by itself, however.

Our little group of six went about everywhere in the church. We saw no disturbance and were offered nothing but the friendliest courtesies. Plainly, if this is the most fanatical center, no revolution on the current issue would spring up.

Our conclusion was, of course, justified by subsequent events. Revolution has not sprung up and with the passing of the psychological moment is not likely to come.

### III

On Saturday, July 31st, the eve of the great occasion, we went on a pleasure trip to Xochimilco, where the beautiful and fertile floating gardens are, the rural Venice of Mexico. We engaged an Indian as our guide and boatman. He could neither read nor write. When we made our contract with him he put down a cross in lieu of his

name. He was a local union leader, being at the head of the union that controls the operation of the boats on the canals. We engaged him in conversation.

His mind was perfectly clear on the controversy between the Church and the Government, and he expressed himself freely. Priests were not necessary, thought he, for the adequate observance of religion, though they were very handy to have about. True, they were expensive. The most important thing about religion was the act of confession. For that purpose it was highly essential that one have a priest, but one can get along without one. One can confess to a tree, for instance. Suppose, said he, one had committed murder or some other very evil deed; naturally he could not be happy or at peace with himself cherishing iniquity of that deed in his bosom. It would be like a poison. If, lacking a priest and not caring to confess to a fellow mortal, one having done so base a deed confessed to a tree, the poison in him would pass out into the tree and before your very eyes the tree would shrivel up. To clinch the argument and elicit conviction he added, "I have seen it happen with my own eyes." When we pressed him about the probable outcome of the restriction the Government placed on the clergy, he ventured, "I hope that not one but many priests will be brave enough to break loose from the papal dominance of the clergy and establish under their own leadership a National Mexican Catholic Church." This, he thought, was not at all unlikely and would be quite in harmony with the desires of the native Mexicans as he knew them. He meant, quite obviously, the Indians. Many of his friends shared this hope with him. Our guide was a robust, popular Indian leader of considerable native ability. He protested he was a very loyal Catholic and that his loyalty was in no sense impaired by the fact that he hoped a National Mexican Church, free from the control of the Pope, would be the outcome.

#### IV

We had two very important interviews while in Mexico, one with Bishop Diaz, the acting head of the Roman

Catholic hierarchy; the other with President Plutarco Elias Calles. For ten days we had been talking to government officials, business men, labor leaders, and other significant personalities. We were now to hear the official version of the present conflict from the responsible heads on both sides.

The interview with Bishop Diaz occurred at seven o'clock in the evening in the house of a friend where the bishop was living, for among the properties taken were bishops' palaces and the residences of priests. Bishop Pascual Diaz is the Bishop of Tabasco. He left his diocese when the Governor of that State ordered all priests to get married or get out. The bishop got out. We found him calm, determined and composed. He does not speak English but he understands it perfectly. We had previously submitted a dozen questions for his consideration and answer. He spoke very freely and showed no sign of seeking to hide the attitude of the church in the present crisis. We were all impressed with his frankness and his desire to get the cause for the church stated clearly and with emphasis. Roughly speaking, this is it:

President Calles, as the head of the Government, issued a decree carrying into effect the constitution of 1917, a constitution drafted under the protection of the soldiers of Carranza at Queretaro and embodying the principles of an earlier constitution, that of 1857, drafted by Juarez, "the Lincoln of Mexico." This decree is the enabling act making effective the constitutional provision, just as the Volstead Act makes effective the Eighteenth Amendment. Under the Mexican constitution the President has the right to issue decrees when Congress is not in session, and these decrees have all the force of a law enacted by Congress. The presidential decree under discussion is a revision of the penal code, so called. Its provisions forbid any foreign born priest from performing any public religious act whatsoever. Native priests must register with the Government before they can perform any such act. No clergyman may express himself in speech or

writing on the policies of the Government, the political situation, or the conduct of any official of the Government; the church may not own any properties of any kind, such properties all being the possession of the Government; religion may not be taught in primary schools; no symbols of religion, such as pictures, statues, etc., may be exhibited in any primary school; no more than five monks or nuns may live together; monastic orders are strictly abolished. The Governments of the twenty-seven states may determine how many clergymen may officiate in these states. Any violation of any provision of this law is not subject to trial by jury. Naturally, such a decree is very drastic. The Catholic hierarchy regard it as persecution.

The position of the Catholic clergy as stated in the interview referred to is that the church is not only impaired in its legitimate functions, but is definitely prevented from carrying on its proper work. All the "natural rights" of the church are interfered with. The dignity of not only the clergy but the very institution of the church is infringed. It is a serious question whether the law is constitutional and the Catholics mean to prove that it is not. The clergy object particularly to the priests' registering, because no priest, under the Mexican constitution, has any civil rights; he cannot vote, he cannot participate in the political life of the country, he cannot inherit property except from a near relative; he is regarded as an ordinary professional man, but is denied the privileges of the lawyer, doctor or engineer. Why should a person without civil status be expected to register and thereby perform a civil act? The thing is absurd on the surface; therefore, the priests have been asked to refrain from compliance with the law.

When asked what the probable outcome would be, the spokesman for the hierarchy said, "We may lose, but we win. We stand for principle and we lose we will hold the respect of the world." The law, of course, applies to Catholics and Protestants alike. The Protestant clergymen of Mexico, almost without exception, though there



are some exceptions, are emphatically for the Government. They feel that the laws are a hardship, but that they are right. We interviewed at least a dozen of them, and the foregoing represents their opinion.

We saw Presidnet Calles in Chapultepec Castle, that loveliest of all regal residences. He met us in the Hall of Ambassadors. We expected to have a formal interview with a brief, dignified, non-committal statement. The President came into our presence visibly tired, his face set with determination, the austere countenance of a general, which indeed he is. He almost at once asked us to be seated, saying at the same time that he had no speech to make, that as a matter of fact he preferred to have us ask him questions, any questions we might care to ask. He suggested that we could take notes if we cared to, for he had nothing to hide. For two hours we plied him with questions.

The Calles Government admits that the restrictions upon the church are severe. In justification it offers the conviction that the Catholic Church is on the side of reaction; that throughout its history it has meddled in politics and has gained its enormous power because of the large hold that it has on property, to the disadvantage of any attempt at the construction of a democratic order of life; that the foreign-born priests in Mexico are undesirable both because they are of inferior character and because they are hostile to Republican Government; that for more than three hundred years they have had an opportunity to show their interest in the Indian, and to this day the country is sixty-two percent illiterate. The present Government is trying to identify itself with the needs and aspirations of the native Mexican Indian. It is trying to reclaim for him the lands illegally taken from him, first by the Conquistadores, then by the church, and finally by the capitalistic exploiters. At the very moment when the Government finds itself in difficulty with other governments, such as the United States, the church seeks to embarrass it by raising the religious issue. No thought of modification of the present restrictions is in

the mind of the Government. There is only one thing left for the clergy, and that is to give in. Should they give in, the laws would not be changed, because they would not need to be changed.

President Calles was asked about the social program of his Government, and it may be interesting to recount here some of the plans in hand. The Government established last year one thousand rural schools, and is planning to establish as many more this year. Provision has been made in the budget to that end. Forty percent of the national budget is spent on education. The Government is also promoting an irrigation project which will make fertile one million hectares. This project will be completed in four years. The Government is sending through the country trained experts to teach the Indians scientific agriculture. It is reclaiming for the Indian the lands unjustly taken from him, and is establishing for him agrarian banks to furnish him the capital with which he can buy farming implements and cattle and equip himself generally for agricultural development. Labor is being organized rapidly in co-operation with the Government, and for the purpose of insuring not only a just wage but proper working conditions for the Mexican worker. The great spirit in the labor movement of Mexico is Morones, who is a cabinet minister.

The current religious issue, according to the President, is in no sense a "religious issue." It is a political and economic issue. The Government is not interested in religion as such. It is tolerant toward all religions because they make for moral well being. Its only concern is to completely separate church and state, and to clip the political wings of the church by taking away its economic power. Such, in brief, is the attitude of the Government.

## V

The problem is at present unsolved. It is likely to remain so for a long time to come. It is a problem that dates back in Mexican history to 1833 when Gómez Fa-

rias first launched his attack, in the interests of the liberal cause, on the church. The present attitude was embodied in the constitution of 1857 under Juarez. The war of the Reform Law was fought over this issue. In that war the forces of reaction were triumphant and Maximilian was brought in as Emperor of Mexico. The Catholic clergy admitted their part in the bringing of Maximilian, when we interviewed them. They justified it on the ground that Mexico was being torn to pieces by factional disputes, and a foreign ruler that could restore order was better than a continuation of strife. Maximilian did not last long. He was followed by a brief period of liberal leadership under Juarez. Then came Diaz, who began as a liberal and wound up as a dictator. Porfirio Diaz brought prosperity to Mexico. The prosperity of the nation was greater under Diaz than it is today. Production was better. But it was a prosperity based on foreign leadership and the suppression of the Mexican. The Indian was not only not educated but, according to Diaz, was not worth educating. The native Mexican of intelligence had no chance. For that reason, under the present law, foreign capital to operate in Mexico, must be incorporated under Mexican law; it must at the same time have on its board of directors a designated proportion of Mexican individuals.

With the fall of Diaz began the revolution under Madero, which is being wound up today under Calles. Mexico today is still a land of revolution. The revolution now has entered into a quiet phase.

Will there be open and violent conflict? The Catholic church leaders say not by their consent. That would be anti-Christian. They will use every constitutional means by petition to the congress, by argument and persuasion, but they will not countenance any attempt at violence. I am convinced that in this the Catholic clergy are perfectly sincere and honest. It would, of course, be hazardous to attempt any prophecies as to the probable outcome. There are, no doubt, leaders aplenty who would welcome a chance to raise the standard of revolt. On the other

hand, the men who carry on the daily enterprise of Mexican life are definitely against such a happening. A Mexican business man who has suffered greatly in his business by the present policies of the Government, and who is politically not on the side of the Calles regime, a man who is a devout Catholic, told me that in his judgment the Government has gone too far; that it was not necessary to place such severe restrictions, because the Catholic Church was gradually relinquishing its desire to interfere in the political life of the country; that as a matter of fact, with a little patience everything that the decree is supposed to accomplish would have happened automatically. He added, however, that in his judgment Mexico was stable and would remain stable; that revolution was strictly out of the question, they had enough of revolution; that capital is safe and will be safe; that before Mexico lies an era of prosperity, and that prosperity, while it might not be spectacular, would still be certain.

## VI

To a Protestant clergyman the present restriction under which he would have to work in Mexico would certainly be burdensome. As a war measure it may be justified; as a permanent order of life it would seem to suppress his right to participate in the proper functioning of democracy. It is a question whether denial of freedom of speech or press can be carried out with safety to any order of life. It certainly would seem to make for sullenness and ill-feeling. Moreover, religious leadership is the only source of helpful criticism that a democracy has. But Mexico is not the United States.

The Government of Mexico has two things in its favor. First, the army is apparently loyal, and in Mexico the army is the main source of social authority. Until that loyalty is broken, a thing that is not likely to happen shortly, no opposing movement will go very far.

Second, Roman Catholicism is an imposed religion. While it has a very firm hold on the women, and through

them a considerable hold on the men, there is not that fervor among the men of Mexico which would likely beget anything like organized opposition. A Catholic priest complained to us that the business men who are loyal to the church have abandoned the priests and left them to fight their own battle. At the best the Catholic religion is a thin veneer over the old Toltec and Aztec cults. Due to a lack of education, the fine points of Christianity are not understood and certainly are not adhered to. It is the festival nature of Catholicism that appeals to the Indians. In Cholula there is a great pyramid, one of the four hundred pyramids remaining. Cholula was a famous center of the old religion. On top of the pyramid is planted a Catholic church. It is a symbol of Mexican Catholicism. The Catholic belief and practice rests on a Toltec and Aztec foundation. It is not likely at this date that its devotees would take too seriously the travail of the church.

THE INDIGENOUS CHURCH ON THE FOREIGN  
MISSION FIELD

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## SUMMARY.

Need for an article on this subject. Statements by individuals and Boards as to the ultimate aim of foreign mission work. Definitions of the term "Indigenous Church." Elements essential to an indigenous church. The urgent need that the church on the mission field become indigenous. Problems and developments of indigenous churches: These are affected by stage of civilization, education, economic condition, etc., of its members. Classification of the stages of progress attained. Progress that is too slow or too rapid to be avoided. Local variations not necessarily an indication of the indigenous character of the church. The church's loyalty to its head. Consideration of the doctrinal basis of the church. Loyalty to the historical church. Denominational differences on the mission fields. These differences not as harmful as supposed. A great deal of co-operation and actual union of churches on mission fields exists today. Self-government discussed. Independent churches considered: Progress in self-government in Japan, Korea, China, Africa, and India. Self-support considered: Progress in self-support in Japan, Korea, China, Africa, South Sea Islands and India. Self-propagation considered: Progress made in Japan, Korea, China, Africa and India. Character of the Christian life of the church. Conclusion.

In recent years no subject has received more thoughtful attention in foreign mission circles both at home and abroad than that of the satisfactory establishment of a truly indigenous Christian Church on the various mission fields. The effort to make these new, growing churches indigenous is not confined to modern times alone, however. It is a problem as old as Christianity itself. Conditions and difficulties in connection with the task have varied greatly from century to century. But the urgent necessity of making the church indigenous, wherever established, was there from its very beginning.

Many reasons may be cited as contributing to the re-

cent great interest in this subject. The age of some of the first established Protestant missions has something to do with it. Growing out of this is the more important reason of the progress made particularly in building up new churches and developing native leaders of ability. The nationalistic spirit which has manifested itself so generally and strongly following the war has served to impress the importance of this subject on the church. Then too, there has been on the part of missions and churches a growing realization of the vital necessity of making the church on the foreign mission field truly indigenous, if the results and benefits of the missionary movement are to be conserved. Mention must be made of the impetus given to the study by outstanding leaders in mission circles writing and speaking about it, and also by its being made, in some of its important phases, a subject for consideration at the conference of the enlarged International Missionary Council to be held in Jerusalem in April 1928.

In spite of the great importance of the subject, the careful attention that has been given to it, and the encouraging developments on the mission fields, it is clear from the nature of the opinions expressed in articles written on it and from actual conditions on the fields themselves that a perfectly satisfactory solution has not yet been found anywhere. Progress has been made. Its importance, its size, and the difficulties connected with it are better understood than ever before. Yet, even in the most advanced and successful developments, there remain many perplexing problems to be carefully considered and rightly solved.

Boards, commissions, and mission bodies of a number of denominations have given this matter careful consideration and have embodied their findings in statements which form a guiding policy for the work on the field. However, when we come to the Lutheran Church we search in vain for similar plain statements with regard to the establishment of an indigenous church. Marked progress in developing indigenous churches on her vari-

ous mission fields has been made by the Lutheran Church, particularly in India. However, these developments in most cases have been the result of the force of circumstances on the mission fields arising to a large extent from the war rather than the outcome of a guiding policy accepted and followed.

In view, then, of the character and importance of the subject of this thesis, of the fact that a large number of the problems in connection with it are still open questions and that the Lutheran Church has not, so far as can be discovered, made a clear statement with regard to it there seems not only to be a place but a need for an article on this theme.

#### STATEMENTS BY BOARDS AND INDIVIDUALS REGARDING THE ULTIMATE AIM OF MISSION WORK

Before proceeding to the main discussion of the subject it might be profitable to point out a few statements of policy bearing on it made by individuals and societies. The first comes from the early days of Protestant missionary effort in India.

In the form of agreement drawn up in 1805 by the missionaries at Serampore, which included Carey and others, the following occurs:

"We think it our duty as soon as possible, to advise the native brethren, who may be formed into separate churches, to choose their pastors and deacons from amongst their own countrymen, that the word may be statedly preached and the ordinances of Christ administered in each church by the native ministers as much as possible without the interference of the missionary of the district. The different native churches will also naturally learn to care and provide for their ministers, for their church expenses, the raising of places of worship, etc., and the whole administration will assume a native aspect; by which means the inhabitants will more readily identify the cause as belonging to their own nation and



their prejudice at falling into the hands of Europeans will entirely vanish."<sup>1</sup>

And in 1851 Henry Venn, the great missionary statesman, made the following statement which was accepted by the committee and issued to all Church Mission Society missionaries. It is as follows:

"Regarding the ultimate object of a mission viewed under its ecclesiastical result to be the settlement of a native church under native pastors upon a self-supporting system, it should be born in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends on the training up and the location of Native Pastors, and that as it has been happily expressed, the enthusia of a mission takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well trained native congregations under native Pastors is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves till it insensibly has ceased; and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all missionary agencies should be transferred to the 'regions beyond.'"

While there is manifested a lack of appreciation of some of the problems involved in this task, on the part of the writers, it is plain that they clearly perceived the ultimate goal in mission work to be the founding of an indigenous church and were themselves working for it.

In addition to those it will be well also for us to quote a few modern statements, as to aims and ideals, from Boards and Mission bodies. The following statement of great merit appears in the Manual of one of the largest missionary societies in America. "The supreme and controlling aim of foreign missions is to make the Lord Jesus Christ known to all men as their Divine Savior and to persuade them to become His disciples; to gather these disciples into Christian churches which shall be self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing; to co-operate, as long as necessary, with these churches, in the

1 Periodical Reports of Baptist Missionary Society Serampore, p. 198-211.

evangelizing of their countrymen, and in bringing to bear on all human life the spirit and principles of Christ."<sup>2</sup>

From England comes the following interesting statement:

"Foreign missionaries should not set before themselves one ideal and one only: to plant the Catholic church in every land. They must remember that the Catholic church needs the fullness of the nations. They must long to see national life putting on Christ and national thought interpreting His truth.... They do not go out to propagate their own national church but to add another national church to the church Catholic. They carry with them warnings and lessons from the history of national churches. They will be on their guard against that sectarian spirit which is the danger of national isolation. No foreigner can forecast, still less invent, the lines of national development in religion. The foreign missionary, therefore, must give his strength to making known Christ in the fulness of His person, His work and His revelation of the Father, together with the great Catholic tradition and the glory of the fellowship of the Catholic church. He must leave to the converts the task of finding out their national response to the revelation of God in Christ and their national way of walking in the fellowship of the Saints with the help of the One Spirit. Thus will the glory of the nations be brought into the Holy City."

The clearest statement of the ultimate aim of mission work given in the Lutheran Church seems to be a short paragraph which occurs in the minutes of the Council of the India Mission of the United Lutheran Church in America. This was twice passed by the mission body but has not yet received the official sanction of the Home Board. It is as follows: "We wish to record that the goal of our organizations is a work which shall be church-centric and that it is our purpose to educate and train our Indian Christians for ultimate complete self-govern-

2 Church and Missions. Speer, p. 42.

ment; and to hand over to the Indian Church as soon as feasible all powers and functions, which legitimately belong to the church. We recognize the Indian Synods as the organized agencies of the Indian Church."<sup>3</sup>

These few quotations selected from a large number of similar statements are sufficient to show how definitely the idea of establishing an indigenous church has been and is before many mission bodies. The value of having some clear statement on this subject as a guiding principle for boards at home and missions on the field needs hardly to be emphasized. It is clear that those missions which have made greatest progress towards the establishment of a strong indigenous church on the mission field are the ones which have had such guiding statements to help them.

#### THE TERM "INDIGENOUS CHURCH" DEFINED

It will be well before proceeding further to try to define the term "Indigenous Church." Webster defines indigenous as "produced or living naturally in a place or climate." It is clear from the nature of Christianity that only the second part of the definition is applicable to the church. Christianity originated at a definite time and place in the person of Jesus Christ. However, its spiritual character is universal. It is capable of becoming native to any country, living naturally there and propagating itself among the people of that country. Our special concern is with the meaning that has been generally applied to it by Boards, Missions and Churches when used by them. In the April 1927 number of the *International Review of Missions* a thoughtful article on the "Use of the Term Indigenous" by Roland Allen deals with this subject at length. Writing of the sense in which most people use the term indigenous in relation to Christianity and the church in India, Africa or any country he says, "They mean that they look for such an

3 Minutes of the Council of the India Mission of the U. L. C. in America, October 1923, p. 27.

establishment of the Church in any of the countries to which missionaries go that it may be visibly at home in the country, and able to propagate itself freely of its own inherent procreative power, so to speak—that procreative power being the Holy Ghost in the Church.”

“Indigenous, then, as applied to the Church or to Christianity seems to mean (1) that Christianity and the Church are spiritually and eternally proper to all countries and peoples in the world; (2) that its spiritual fitness for this or that particular country or people appears in time; (3) that it appears to our apprehension in the fact that it makes itself at home, that it grows and expands on the soil without any external aid, spontaneously. We propagate because we believe that what we propagate is essentially in its own nature indigenous to the country before we begin to work; and the true test whether we are doing our work properly is the manifestation of that indigenous character, and that manifestation must be in the form of spontaneous growth.”<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Speer gives the following enlightening statement on this subject: “Our ideal is to establish in each land a native church which shall be of the soil, rooted in the tradition and life of the people, fitted to its customs and institutions, sharing its character and participating in its mission, yes, defining and inspiring that mission as it can do only when it is truly a national Church subjected to no alien bondage. In such a Church Christianity will surrender nothing that is essential and universal. She enters into no compromise. She simply domesticates herself in a new home which she has been long in finding, and from the new roots which she sinks into humanity expands that interpretation of the life of God in man and nourishes that hope of man’s future in God which can only be perfected as all the peoples bring their glory and honor into the final temple of humanity.”<sup>5</sup>

4 International Review of Missions, April 1926, p. 264.

5 The Church and Missions. Speer, p. 55.

## ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH

In the light of these definitions let us consider what some of the essential elements in an indigenous church may be.

1. The church will be self-governing. It must control itself, and be responsible fully to itself for its government. It may receive advice, inspiration and help from other churches just as the Lutheran Church in America has and is receiving it from the church in Germany, Sweden, Norway and other countries. But just as Lutheran bodies in America are quite independent of any control from these, so an indigenous church will govern itself independently.

2. An indigenous church will be a self-supporting church. Self-government, self-respect and free responsibility are, in the very nature of the case closely bound up with self-support. It does not mean that financial assistance cannot be given or received. However, it does mean that the church dare not be dependent on it and must be able to get along without it.

3. An indigenous church will be a self-propagating church. The spiritual life in the church will naturally and spontaneously manifest itself in making Christ and his saving grace known to others, and in a sincere endeavor to make Him Lord of all.

But in addition to these, the definitions given have brought out rather clearly several other elements of prime importance in an indigenous church.

4. In this church Christ will be the living Head. He and He alone will be its Lord. He will be its one, true, all sufficient source of life, power and light. "For other foundation can no man lay that which is laid which is Jesus Christ."

5. The proper teaching of the Gospel and the right administration of the sacraments are essential to the life of an indigenous church. They are the bread and life to the hungry souls of men. Through them the church

is brought into vital, living relationship with Jesus Christ its head.

6. This church will be a part of the one holy church which is to continue forever and which rises above race, nationality or time. It will stand vitally connected with the church of history from which it will draw much of help and guidance.

7. It is essential too that the church's life should manifest itself in practical living. In the spirit of Christ it will face the evils, problems and crying needs of individuals and society and will courageously set itself to dealing with them in a truly Christian way. It will help men to realize the "abundance of life" which Christ came to give the world.

8. An indigenous church will of necessity be made up of units or congregations. While any particular type of church organization, human tradition, rite, ceremony instituted by men, etc., is not essential, a congregation with some form of free organization is a necessary beginning unit. In it the Gospel will be preached, sacraments administered, discipline dispensed, and real Christian fellowship enjoyed. These cells with the life and strength they have, will make up the church. The church will be a reflection of the character of its constituent cells or congregations.

9. It seems to be clear that if a church is to have the elements mentioned above and be indigenous it must be free. Only as it is free from external authority and at liberty to think, decide and live as it deems best under the guidance of the Spirit, and also is under the necessity of bearing the consequences of its decisions, can a true sense of responsibility be developed. Only so can it take on that national and local color which will fit it to serve best those among whom and for whom it existed.

#### THE URGENT NECESSITY FOR THE CHURCH TO BECOME INDIGENOUS

The urgency for the church on the mission field to become indigenous can hardly be overemphasized. While

this has been appreciated fully by some, by others at home and abroad its importance has not been understood as it should be. It may be well, therefore, through a few historic examples to endeavor to get the matter clearly before our minds. And here an outstanding example of the sad results where a church does not really become indigenous is that of North Africa. Just when Christianity spread to North Africa is not definitely known. There can be no doubt that it was early. It is plain too that once planted there it spread rapidly among the Romans and Greeks who were living in that fine, prosperous section of the Roman Empire. It increased in strength and ability as well as numbers. Bitter persecutions were successfully withstood. Great leaders like Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine grew up in it. It had the independence and strength to withstand the church in Rome on a number of important issues. At the time of its greatest success it numbered several million members. Yet in the seventh century this church was practically obliterated, while the Coptic Church of Egypt which was in the very heart of that same Mohammedan invasion survived. If we seek the reasons for this catastrophe we find that the North African church was a church of the Roman rulers, and foreign landlords and merchants. The Berbers, who were the original inhabitants of the land, were never really evangelized. The Bible was not translated into their language. The church failed to do its duty by the people of the soil. When, therefore, the Mohammedan invasion took place these aborigines, not being Christians themselves, hating their Roman oppressors, and associating Christianity with the Roman system, readily accepted Mohammedanism. The Christians were in reality foreigners. Those who survived the blighting Mohammedan invasion and the bitter persecution which followed in its wake emigrated to Europe and settled down there leaving hardly a trace of the once splendid North African Church.

The early history of Christianity in China gives examples for careful consideration. Christianity was first

introduced into China about 628. In 635, according to an inscription on the Nestorian monument, Alopen, a remarkable Christian missionary, arrived at the court of the king of China. For two hundred years following Christianity had marked success and seems to have spread fairly well over the whole of China. After this conspicuous success it disappeared completely in the 9th century. The reasons for this failure are hidden in obscurity. However, it seems plain that the church remained foreign in language, forms and organization. Its priests and prominent leaders also were foreigners. Then also it was too closely associated with the kings and rulers of the land. It seems to have been smothered under too much favor by principalities and powers. Again in the 13th century a similar development took place under the great Mogul emperors. Here again Christianity suffered, no doubt, from the favor of these rulers and from being associated with a dynasty that was foreign to China. Clear it is that with the fall of the hated Mogul dynasty Christianity too was swept away.<sup>6</sup>

A development that is more closely related to modern missionary effort is that of the Dutch Church in Ceylon. After the island had been occupied for more than a century by the Portuguese, who built up a large Roman Catholic Church there, it was taken by the Dutch and a Protestant Church was established in 1642. The growth of this church in numbers was remarkable. In 1722 it is credited with having a membership of 425,000. In the year 1796 this number had fallen to 300,000. And within 15 years after the occupation of the Island by the British the church had practically disappeared. Today only a few traces remain. When we inquire into the reasons for this signal failure we find besides the debilitating radicalism in the home church, that on the field this church lacked a number of elements essential to spiritual life and growth. The methods used in making converts and the motives encouraged in those who became Christians were questionable to say the least. The great cen-

6 Chinese Year Book 1926, p. 196-223, and other authorities.



tral truths of Christianity and Christ were too feebly developed and too superficially inculcated to make a lasting impression on the minds of the converts. With but few exceptions the Dutch missionaries never learned the language of the people among whom they worked and so never got close to them. The church was never organized with a view to self-government and self-propagation. Christianity remained largely foreign even to the converts, who continued to practice the rites and ceremonies of their old religion along with the new. It was looked upon, to a great extent, as the religion of the ruling Dutch, which was more or less forced upon those who became Christians.<sup>7</sup>

Although these three examples are greatly separated in time and place there are a number of things that are common to all three. In none of these cases did Christianity become a real part of the life of the true inhabitants of the land. It was associated with the government of the country, and so was looked upon as a foreign system. In some cases it actually remained foreign in language and organization. In other words in each of these examples the church failed to become indigenous and so shared the fate of other things which fail in this important matter.

By way of contrast let us for a moment consider the Coptic Church of Egypt and the Syrian Church in India. The church in Egypt dates from the earliest centuries of Christianity. With it in the earlier centuries were associated such names as Clement, Origen and the great Athanasius. Like the church in North Africa the church in Egypt was torn by internal dissensions. It too had to withstand the Mohammedan invasion, and in succeeding generations the Coptic Church was called on to endure bitter persecutions, yet despite most unfavorable circumstances this church continues and today numbers about 700,000 souls. Unlike in North Africa, in Egypt the whole population became Christian. The Coptic

7 Christianity in Ceylon, by Sir James Tennant 1850, and others.

Church consists almost entirely of the original Egyptian inhabitants of the land. Their religion became an integral part of their life, and so, while the Greek and Roman part of the church which was really foreign to the land, was swept away, these people who were Monophysites and who were considered heretics after the Council of Chalcedon, but who were the real people of the soil, survived through the centuries.<sup>8</sup>

The Syrian Church in India, too, has much of interest for us in this study. It is from the 4th or 5th centuries. Cut off, to a great extent, from the rest of the Christian world in the midst of a caste ridden people, surrounded by Hinduism and idolatry, subject at times to bitter persecution and with frequent internal dissensions, it continued to exist and slowly grow until today in all its branches including the Roman Catholic it numbers about 700,000 members. In it has been developed a fine type of manhood and womanhood which is unexcelled by any other class in India. While this church, for centuries, had connection with the church in Mesopotamia and later with that in Syria, it was in reality an independent church. It had its own priests, its own organization, ritual and customs which were suited to its own needs. Though much of the church's history is hidden in obscurity, it is clear that almost from the beginning Christianity was a part of the life of the people, supported and propagated by Indians only.<sup>9</sup> In other words, in both these cases, the church from the first was indigenous in the character of the people among whom it spread and in the nature of its foundation and development. And so it continued to exist and steadily increase while other churches which were larger and more promising, having failed to become truly indigenous to the land in which they were established, have disappeared.

#### PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS OF THE INDIGENOUS CHURCH

We come now to a consideration of the problems and

<sup>8</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 7, Art. on Copts.

<sup>9</sup> Harvest Field, April 1918, p. 120; Church Mis. Review 1923, p. 22, and other authorities.

progress of the Indigenous Church on the mission field today. These two are so closely related, the problems to a great extent growing out of the progress made, that it is preferable to treat them together. They will be considered under some of the heads already set forth as elements for an indigenous church. Those elements will be selected which are now most prominently before missionary thought; they will be arranged as best suits our purpose.

In doing this we shall have to remember to deal with conditions as they actually are on the various mission fields at the present time. No matter what theories we may hold as to the way this church should develop; no matter whether the developing church has failed to grow in accordance with these preconceived theories or not; no matter whether it has made serious mistakes and how many difficulties may be in the way of its becoming indigenous, we must face the situation as it actually is and draw our conclusions from that condition.

It is plain that the problems and progress made will vary a good deal with local conditions on the various mission fields. There are first of all great national differences between the peoples of Japan, China, India, Africa and the South Sea Islands. Then too, problems will be somewhat different where one is dealing with a people with a great past civilization and a strong spirit of nationalism like that of Japan as compared with a primitive people where these are almost wholly lacking, as in the case of the South Sea Islands.

Again there are great differences in classes of people in the same land. This is perhaps most marked in India where great numbers of Christians come from the depressed classes who have been living practically in serfdom for centuries. Because of their position and experience they cannot, without careful and patient training, gain the same free spirit and ability for self government and independent life that those of the higher classes, who have been their masters, possess. Education, too, is a matter which affects the situation greatly.

In a land like Japan where the number who are literate is remarkably high problems will be considerably different from other lands such as India or Africa where the number who can read and write is relatively very low. Economic conditions, also affect the situation a great deal. Developing self-support among a people who are abjectly poor, having hardly enough for the mere necessities of life, and among a people who are economically in good circumstances are quite different problems.

In addition to local conditions there are the differences in the missions themselves. Boards and mission bodies have followed different methods, emphasizing different things in carrying on the work. There are differences in educational policies, training of leaders, devolution and the like. The age of the work is another item to be considered. Problems vary a good deal according to the stage of progress made in developing indigeneity.

#### STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

All classifications of stages of progress attained are more or less arbitrary. The best is one given by E. C. Lobenstine in the Chinese Year Book for 1926, p. 179-180. The first stage is classed as that of gathering converts.

"During the first period converts are being gathered together in little groups which are related to one another in some form of church organization commonly that of the church to which the mission belongs. In this period responsibility for the work rests entirely with the mission."

The second stage is called that of co-operation. It is a time of co-operation between mission and church. During this time "the church is developing its leadership and its self-consciousness and is given control of certain aspects of the work, generally those that relate to evangelism and the pastoral oversight of the Christians. During this period other aspects of the work remain completely under the control of the mission. This is a period of dual control and divided responsibility between church and mission."

The third stage may be called that of self-government. "In this stage the church has reached a larger degree of self-government or even complete administrative autonomy in so far as that is attainable, while still remaining in a measure dependent on Christians in other countries for financial help and for missionary assistance."

A fourth stage is one of complete independence. In this final stage "the church is entirely independent of foreign help of any kind, except such as is common between fully autonomous churches of different lands."

Since it is more or less necessary to have some standard of comparison we shall follow this one in so far as necessary to make any classification of the stage of advance attained by the churches of various missions.

When a church reaches the last stage it no longer has problems that will particularly concern us. Likewise in the first stage there will not be many problems which are related to the developing church. However, as it is a time for laying foundations it is important that the essentials of an indigenous church be kept clearly in mind. Not only does the work of the majority of the progressive missions today come under the second and third classes but also this is the time when the problems in connection with the developing indigenous church are most numerous and acute.

#### RATE OF PROGRESS

There are several tendencies to be noted in mission work which are a hindrance to the sound development of an indigenous church. The first one is that of being too slow in advancing from the first to the second and third stages. There are some missionaries in practically all missions and the majority of missionaries in a few other missions who would keep the work in the first stage only. They conceive of their task as one of evangelization only. They have little or no concern in the organizations of the work or in developing self-government, self-support or self-propagation. "Indeed some even look with concern

at any expression of opinion that differs from those which are held in their 'home churches' and would regard as something less than success the development of a leadership which is independent, free and untrammelled in its expression of its own views."<sup>10</sup> Work developed with this outlook is not church centered but mission centered. It is likely to remain so and has little promise of development, or even of continued existence when foreign support and control on which it is so completely dependent is for any reason removed.

Equally harmful to the development of the church may be too rapid advance to the third and particularly the fourth stage. A case in point is the mission work of the American Board in the Hawaiian Islands. In 1863 the Board handed over entire responsibility for the work there to the Hawaiian Church. The church became quite independent of the American Board. In the Centennial Book 1820-1920, page 34, this is described as "not only a mistake but a disaster." The insufficient development of the church, other missions in the islands continuing to have foreign missionaries and the great influx of laborers from Japan, China and the Philippine Islands all combined, after this church had experienced great loss, to make the return of foreign missionaries again necessary in 1904.<sup>11</sup> In the International Review of Missions for October 1924 we have the following: "There are, however, indications in letters from many parts of Africa that where devolution has been too rapid, and responsibilities have been transferred to those not yet prepared to meet them, results have been unsatisfactory and steps have had to be retraced. Such incidents, it is rightly urged, do not reflect so much on the capacity and stability of the African as on the adequacy of the training provided for those called to office in the church."

Similar experiences no doubt could be cited in India, China and perhaps Japan. They point to the fact that

10 Chinese Year Mook, 1926, p. 185. Lobenstine.

11 Centennial Book of the American Board 1820-1920 and Story of the American Board by Strong.

the qualities of Christian character on which the indigenous church must ultimately depend are not the growth of a day. Moreover, the acquiring of an appreciation of the history and character of the Christian Church, the training of leaders preparing them to govern rightly and to carry on the work independently, comes only with time. Any attempt to hasten unduly or artificially this development because of urgent circumstances on the field, political or otherwise, as may be the case in China today, is in danger, in the end, of being harmful rather than helpful to the sound development of an indigenous church.

#### LOCAL VARIATIONS

Another matter which needs to be guarded against is that of overemphasizing local variation. There is a tendency, which has been particularly noticeable in India, to confuse local differences in form of worship, church architecture, music, discipline, etc., with the essentials of an indigenous church. While there are bound to be many such variations in a church that is indigenous they are not the cause of its being so. The church may be indigenous without them and may not be indigenous, even though it has them in a marked degree. "When missionaries encourage native Christians to use indigenous rites or to adopt indigenous expressions of faith, that may or may not be the true path; but all these things may happen in a church which shows little sign of being able to maintain its own life or to propagate itself on the soil. To jump to the conclusion that a church is indigenous because it practices some local custom or expresses its faith in some purely local form is simply an example of the proneness of men to judge by externals. No church can be indigenous which is not propagating itself on the soil. To ignore that and to imagine that local variation is a proof of indigenous character is fatal. The variation must come out of the persistent and vigorous propagation of itself on the soil; then and then only is it a

symptom of indigenous character.<sup>12</sup> It is local variation of this kind that is to be encouraged and that is a safe indication of an indigenous church. However, this cannot be artificially developed by foreign missionaries but must come from the native church itself. The leaders in that church who have ability to appreciate what is good in the old, to evaluate rightly their customs and to select wisely that which will be of real use in the Christian Church are the ones who will have to perform this important and difficult task.

#### LOYALTY TO THE HEAD OF THE CHURCH

A survey of the various mission fields made from literature available in books, reports by commissions, articles in periodicals and the like, shows that the church there with few exceptions manifests a spirit of genuine loyalty to Jesus Christ as its only true and final head. This is manifested in the profession and fine Christian life and faith of many individuals such as Sadhu Sundar Singh of India; who are a great inspiration to Christians of both West and East alike; in the readiness of numbers in the church to endure persecution patiently for Christ's sake; in the continued steady increase in the number of Christians on most mission fields and in the substantial progress made in establishing an indigenous church. Where there has been any departure from a simple living faith in Christ it has generally been encouraged or caused by the West and is not a natural growth on the field itself. The marked liberal teachings of some missionaries, a certain type of liberal literature which is more or less common, students returning after studying in the atmosphere of some of our most liberal western schools, the character of the addresses given by some lecturers visiting the East—all are contributing factors in weakening the faith of some in the church. The country where this tendency seems to have been most noticeable is China, which is

<sup>12</sup> International Review of Missions, April, 1926, p. 266. Roland Allen.



naturally materialistic in its outlook on life. Dr. H. T. Hodgkin gives as the principal reason for a decline in personal evangelistic zeal in China "widespread uncertainty as to the message itself."<sup>13</sup>

In India outside of the Christian Church there is a mass movement of thought towards Christ as a great moral and ethical leader which does not yet acknowledge him as the unique and only Son of God. This has its dangers for the church, which may be led to compromise too much. However, most observers are ready to declare that the real crisis along this line is in the home church and not in the mission field.

#### DOCTRINAL BASIS OF THE CHURCH

In this connection it will no doubt be of interest to consider the doctrinal basis of the growing church. Some missionaries and native leaders feel that the indigenous church should draw up its own creed and confession independent of the church at home. They feel that the creeds and confessions of the West are too much the outgrowth of conditions which mean little or nothing to this new church to serve it satisfactorily. There can be no doubt that ultimately the indigenous church will have to be its own judge regarding its doctrinal basis. But if it is to be a truly indigenous production then the church alone must prepare it. Probably all will agree that this is not a task for a young, inexperienced church. It can be satisfactorily accomplished only after the church's life and leadership are ready for it. If we may look to the early church for guidance here we will recall that credal statements came only after several centuries of Christian life and development. With great masses of unevangelized to be reached and great religions to be met victoriously and perplexing problems to be faced for the individual and society, it seems wise that the energy of the church should be spent on its practical problems rather

13 Report on Japan and China by Speer and Kerr for 1926, p. 466.

than in the difficult and sometimes dividing work of drawing up new creeds or confessions when it is not yet properly qualified to do so. The growing church has, therefore, generally accepted the creeds and confessions held by churches of the West. This is not, however, because they are western but because they are generally believed to embody truths which rise above nationality and time, and which, for the present, meet their needs. Where attempts have been made to draw up confessional statements on the field, they have generally been prepared by missionaries and members of the churches working together. Usually they have been prepared as a basis of union for divisions of the same denomination which unite to form one church, or where the members of a number of denominations have united to form a united church. In these cases it became necessary to draw up a new statement that would as nearly as possible satisfy all parties concerned. These are not original compositions arising out of the Christian experience of an indigenous church but are prepared by missionaries and native church leaders and are almost entirely an expression of western confessions. Examples of such compositions can be found in practically all mission fields. They exist in Japan, Korea, Africa, China and particularly in India. Here the United Church of South India, the Gossaner Autonomous Lutheran Church and the Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church have doctrinal basis of the type indicated above. It may be of interest to know that when the constitution for the latter was drawn up and some missionaries felt that it would be well to have a more simple statement of doctrinal basis for the church than that of the United Lutheran Church in America, it was the Indian leaders who strongly preferred to accept that full statement rather than at this time to try to change or simplify it.

#### DENOMINATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN THE CHURCH

It may be truthfully stated, too, that the church on the mission field generally is continuing its connection with

historic Christianity. In fact it is felt by not a few that it has done so too closely. The fact that denominational differences have been so largely continued there is lamented by many thoughtful Christian leaders on the mission field and at home and gives occasion for criticism by friends and foes alike. It is held that while these denominational differences may mean something to peoples in the West they have practically no significance for those of the East; that the spectacle of various denominations, all calling themselves Christians, working in competition and sometimes in open hostility to one another is bewildering to Christians and is a great offense to non-Christians, who are kept out of the Church by it; also that by these divisions the efficiency of mission work is considerably dissipated and funds and missionaries are not always used to best advantage, because of reduplication.

That there is considerable truth in these statements cannot be denied. Most people will agree that every legitimate effort should be put forth to bring about church union and closer co-operation at home and especially on the mission field. However, it must not be forgotten on the one hand that the Church on the mission field has real, practical difficulties to face in working along this line just as the Church at home has, and also that in many quarters already a surprisingly large amount of progress has been made. In the first place, missionaries who grew up and received their religious training in a particular denomination, who were sent to the foreign field by the Board of that denomination, naturally imparted Christian truth from the angle they had learned it. And so unintentionally, often, they laid the foundation for the continuation of their denomination on the foreign mission field. Although the number of denominations thus built up on the foreign field is large, they are not as bewildering or harmful as is generally considered the case. The foreign field is so large that there is a comparatively small amount of overlapping there, certainly far less than there is in the West even for congregations of the same

denomination in cities. Only those of the West with a superficial knowledge of the religion of the East and those of the West who deliberately close their eyes to the actual condition of Eastern religions can lay emphasis on the fact that denominational differences are bewildering or unknown to Eastern religionists. Each of the great Eastern religions has many divisions which correspond in numerous ways to denominational divisions in Christianity. In Japan we are told, Buddhism has nine principal sects and forty-two sub-sects. Hindu religionists are hopelessly divided. First there is the marked division caused by caste, which has a religious basis. There is the great division between worshippers of Vishnu and Siva. Then there are innumerable other divisions arising from the worship of various major and minor deities. There are also differences growing out of ancient and modern reform movements, many of which make divisions far more distinct than denominations in Christianity. Even Mohammedanism is filled with dividing sects. Some of them are more intolerant than those of the Christian Church; they condemn members of other sects to damnation. The Mohammedans credit themselves with seventy-three sects, the outstanding divisions being Sunnites and Shiites with their subdivisions.

Again there is actually a great deal of co-operation on the mission field between missions and churches representing various denominations. This is markedly the case in Japan, China, Africa and India. They co-operate in education, particularly in higher education and professional schools; in works of mercy such as hospitals, sanatoriums, leper asylums and the like; in the study and solution of social problems; in making united representations before governments on important matters, and in many other ways. The International Missionary Council and its Christian Councils in various countries have done a great deal in recent years to bring about a large increase in interdenominational co-operation on the mission field.

The most encouraging and substantial progress in co-operation and organic union, however, has been made by the church itself. The church is generally anxious for this and takes the initiative in encouraging and bringing about closer union. It is usually ready to go farther and more rapidly than missions and Boards are ready to follow. In a number of cases the churches which have grown up in various missions have united to form one church while the missions continue their separate existence. The most common form of union is that where churches representing different divisions or sects of the same denomination working in the same country or language area get together and form one church. This type of union has been followed particularly in Japan by Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregational and other churches. The three branches of the Presbyterian Church at work in Korea have united to form one Korean Church. The same thing is true of the two branches of the Methodist Church at work there. Instances of similar movements for closer co-operation or union are to be met with on practically every mission field. Those that have taken place in Lutheran missions are practically all of this kind. In Japan the mission and church of the United Synod South and that of the General Council were united at the time of the merging of these two bodies in America. The United Danish Church mission also united with the other two missions mentioned at the same time. The Icelandic Synod also has a share in this work supporting a missionary in it.

In 1920 the Lutheran Church in China held its first General Assembly. The bodies which compose this church were the Lutheran United Mission, the Norwegian Missionary Society, the Finnish Missionary Society, the Augustana Synod Mission and the Church of Sweden Mission. Eight other Lutheran Missions were represented in the first meeting. In 1924 when the second meeting of this body took place, two more missions were received as constituent synods. They were the Lutheran Free Church of America and the Schleswig-Holstein

Mission of Brecklen, Germany. This church is self-governing and according to the direction of the different synods may have control of all church work if the Chinese leaders and church members so desire.<sup>14</sup>

From Africa comes the following interesting statement: "A new organization to be known as the German Lutheran Church Union of South and West Africa has recently been formed. The organization meeting was attended by representatives of the Lutheran Synod of South Africa, the Hermansburg Synod, the Berlin Mission, and congregations in South-west Africa, Pretoria and Johannesburg. The form of organization adopted is very similar to that of the "National Lutheran Council" of America. It will not affect the independence of the individual congregations or synods, but will serve as a co-ordinating agency and to represent Lutheranism in that part of the world in its relations with government. All the Lutheran Churches in the Cape of Good Hope, Orange Free State, Natal and the contiguous territory will be included."

In India since 1908 the various Lutheran missions at work joined in an All-India Lutheran Conference which was to meet once in four years. From this there had developed some definite plans for a United Lutheran Church for India and for a united seminary. The war greatly retarded progress along this line. However, the churches of the Swedish and Leipzig mission have united to form the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church and so now there is but one church there, while the mission bodies remain separate. The two synods of the United Lutheran Church mission representing what was once the work of the General Council and General Synod have united and formed one church known as the Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church. In December 1926, representatives of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Guntur Synod of the United Lutheran Church, the Rajahmundry

<sup>14</sup> Chinese Year Book for 1926, p. 189 and Chinese Recorder, June 1924, p. 415.

Synod of the United Lutheran Church, the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Santal Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Central Provinces met at Rajahmundry. They adopted a "Constitution of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India." This federation was organized, officers were elected and although the constitution still lacks ratification by the constituent bodies, its acceptance seems so certain that the federation can be counted as actually a reality.<sup>15</sup> This may not have gone far enough to suit some; yet if we bear in mind the great variety of American and European Mission bodies represented and that these constituent churches on the field are in quite different language areas, we realize that it marks a decided forward step and also lays the foundation, under wise guidance, for a much closer association and ultimately, it is hoped, for one United Lutheran Church in India.

There is still a more marked type of union. It is that where churches of different denominations, usually those most nearly alike in organization doctrine, etc., unite to form one church. The outstanding example of this in China is the "Church of Christ in China." The denominations or mission churches which have united to make up this body in South China are the New Zealand Presbyterian Mission, the London Missionary Society, the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, the Mission of the American Board and the Northern Presbyterian Mission.<sup>16</sup>

From Africa comes the following word regarding union which is of particular interest to Lutherans. "The Presbyterian Church of Central Africa recently formed by the union of the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church and Dutch Reformed Church in that region is to be further strengthened by the inclusion of the two German Missions—the Moravian and the Berlin Missionary Society that have returned to their former fields of labor."<sup>17</sup>

15 Gospel Witness, Feb. 1927 p. 215-220.

16 China Christian Year Book 1926, p. 184.

17 Indian Standard, Mar. 1926, p. 81-82.



In India the most noted example of this kind of Church Union is the South India United Church. In 1908 this church was launched by the union of the Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, and Congregational bodies at work in that area. Since then the London Mission bodies in this part, and a part of the Basil Mission have become parts of this church. The strong Wesleyan bodies have recently been carrying on negotiations with a view to uniting with this church. For several years now, also, negotiations have been carried on between this church and the Church of England in South India with a view to a union of these two strong bodies. A large measure of progress has been made towards effecting a union. One of the reasons, no doubt, for the Indian Church measure for the disestablishing of the Church of England in India, is that that church might be free to enter into this and similar unions. In North India the Presbyterians and Congregationalists are in a similar way uniting to form one church. In unions of this type India seems to stand among the first missionary fields.

The above are but some of the examples on the mission field of the definite progress made in breaking down denominational differences and in building up a united indigenous church. Compared with what has taken place at home we may agree that the progress is highly gratifying. Judging by the sentiments expressed and spirit manifested by many church leaders, this is but a foretaste of the developments which we may expect in the future.

The three requirements most commonly mentioned in connection with an indigenous church are self-government, self-support and self-propagation. Almost from the beginning of foreign mission work these have been before missions and churches as ideals to be earnestly labored for. They are so closely related to one another that it is difficult to treat one without referring to the others also. It has always been difficult to say which of these is most important and which should be developed first. We shall not try to settle that point, but shall con-



fine ourselves, as stated earlier, to problems and progress which have developed from them.

#### SELF-GOVERNMENT

Of these three, since the war, the matter of self-government has received by far the greatest amount of attention. Perplexing problems in connection with it have arisen on practically every mission field and at times have become acute. Of the great importance of the church's being self-governing little needs to be said. It is self-evident, too, that a church which is not allowed or is not able to govern itself cannot be classed as an indigenous church. It may be able to become such a church but that remains to be demonstrated. This demonstration can take place satisfactorily only when the church, entirely free from outside control, is self-dependent and self-governing.

Giving native leaders, however well qualified they may be, the status of missionaries will not be of any great value in developing a self-governing church. Making native leaders, without changing their status, members of the mission body on an equal basis with missionaries is not particularly satisfactory either. Such men and women are able to render valuable assistance in giving the native viewpoint on important matters; they represent their own and other interests at first hand in the mission body; it is an education both to them and to missionaries to have them act in this capacity, and it opens up a larger sphere to the native leaders. However, it does not develop the church to any appreciable extent. Moreover, it can affect but few. In the April 1926 National Christian Council Review (India) Mr. D. S. Sawarkar states that according to his observation this arrangement had failed:

- "a. To quicken an evangelistic spirit in the church.
- b. To inspire acts of self-sacrificing work in church and country;
- c. To interest the church members in raising funds."

While not unmindful of the benefits of such an arrangement, it seems plain also that it can never be considered an end in itself. When used, it ought to be as a temporary expedient and should lead as rapidly as possible to a self-governing church.

A problem that is most difficult to solve in this connection is the relation of the foreign missionary to this church. Shall the missionary when he goes to a foreign mission field become a citizen of the country to which he has gone and thus align himself in an intimate way with the members of the church there? There are missionaries and native church leaders who strongly advocate this solution of the problem. However, real difficulties are involved with regard to standard of living, care of children and the like, which have to be met. It must also be remembered that the mere change of citizenship will change neither the color nor the nature of the individuals concerned. Shall the missionary retaining his foreign citizenship and as an employee of the Foreign Board take his place as a member in the church. This practice seems to be followed rather generally. However, it is held that the nature of the white race is such and the influence of missionaries representing the home Board so strong that all too frequently, even though unintentionally, they so dominate the situation that they are a hindrance to the development of free self-government in the church. Shall the missionary then have no direct relation whatever with the church? Shall it be given over entirely into the hands of the native Christians to control themselves. A number of churches have tried this with considerable success. However, this has created, where tried, an awkward gulf between the mission and the church. The church, too, is deprived of the help and inspiration which can come to it from the best missionaries.

Another matter which is very difficult and is acutely before the church in China today is the right relation between self-government and self-support. Are these two indissolubly joined together? Ought a church which is not entirely self-supporting be completely self-govern-

ing? Is it really possible to develop an indigenous church where self-government is far in advance of self-support?

Then again we may inquire what a self-governing church is to govern. Shall it simply have charge of its congregational and elementary school work? Or shall it look after the training of its ministry, the higher education of its members and the like? In other words shall it have charge of institutions such as Theological Training Schools, High Schools, Colleges and Hospitals, etc.?

It is not our purpose here to enter into a discussion of these problems. Through some examples of outstanding developments of self-governing churches on various mission fields we hope to call attention to the ways in which various missions and churches have endeavored to meet these problems.

The most striking developments in self-government are to be seen in the independent churches and congregations. Such churches sever all connection with missions or with churches which are in any way related with a mission. The reasons given for this character of development are among others racial—the members feel that white missionaries do not really care for them; a desire for complete independence; ministers and workers who have been disciplined have influenced congregations attached to them to break away; also in some cases there is a desire for more native customs than are allowed in the church organizations to which they belong.

While examples of this kind of development are to be found on practically all fields, the movement has attained greatest proportions in New Zealand and South Africa. In New Zealand the movement has been led by a Maori by the name of Ratana. A church called the Church of Ratana which is quite independent of all missions and churches there, has been established. According to an article in the *Christian Century*, April, 1926, it numbered 20,000 members who were made up of 13,000 Anglicans, 4,000 Roman Catholics, 1,400 Methodists and 1,000 Mor-

mons. Its creed contains a belief in Father, Son, Holy Ghost and Holy Angels. "Faith Healing," has played a large part in its life. All members are required to break completely with other churches to which they may have at one time belonged. The church is completely organized with its own ministry. As the movement is young sufficient time has not yet elapsed to arrive at a satisfactory valuation of its true worth.<sup>18</sup>

In South Africa the movement is not so well organized and has not reached the same proportions as in New Zealand. Here it is much older, dating back to 1906 or earlier. Today there are about 140 such congregations in South Africa. Some of them are quite alone. In other cases a number of such independent congregations have joined together and formed one church organization. Where this has taken place no marked tendencies to deterioration have been noted. However, where congregations are quite alone there has been noted, in many cases, a tendency to revert to type. In some cases, it is charged, immoral practices have crept into these churches, among others being polygamy. Concerning this movement it may be said that being unrelated to any other ecclesiastical bodies "they are subject to too much individual and often changing leadership, they lack the restraining as well as the inspirational effect of union with other churches and they develop no strong future leadership." As far as can be judged from material in hand this movement is lacking in some important matters and is not a type of development to be encouraged.

When we come to churches which have developed self-government in what seems to be the normal way, the church in Japan, must be conceded as having made the greatest progress. It is now many years since the church there, in several of the largest missions, became self-governing. In this development self-support has always been closely associated with self-government. Only such congregations as were entirely self-supporting were admitted to full membership in the church. In ad-

18 Church Mis. Review, Dec. 1925.

dition to the usual congregational responsibilities the church in several cases also looks after the theological training of its pastors, and its High Schools and Colleges. However, here again the principle of self-support has been closely followed. Missionaries are not members of the local nor general bodies of the church. They may be chosen as advisory members and as such may sit with their Japanese brethren. However, they have a right neither to a vote nor to the floor, except by the special action of the Japanese church. The exact relation of the missionary body and the Japanese church has not been clearly nor altogether satisfactorily defined. While there can be no doubt about the independent and indigenous character of the church, there is a feeling that it would be to the advantage of the advance of Christian work if a better understanding as to the relation of church and mission could be arrived at. When Dr. Speer and Dr. Kerr recently visited Japan a general conference between mission bodies and members of the churches took place with this end in view for the Presbyterian Church. However, they were not able to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem.<sup>19</sup>

In Korea the largest and most developed church is the Presbyterian. It is made up by the union of the churches which are the outgrowth of the mission work of the Presbyterian Church North, the Presbyterian Church South, the Canadian Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church of Australia. This united church has been in existence since 1907. Missionaries are members of the General Assembly and Presbyteries. However, they now take a subordinate part in the deliberations of these bodies. All the officers of the General Assembly and all chairmen of its committees are Koreans. Here from the beginning self-support has been an outstanding characteristic of the work.

With respect to China it is difficult to make a statement which covers the whole field. We need only to re-

<sup>19</sup> Report on Japan and China 1926, by Speer and Keer, p. 25-26.

call that China is very large, the stages of development greatly varied, and present conditions unsettled. Instead of referring to a number of examples from different parts of China we shall select the development in the Kwangtung or Canton Divisional Council of the Church of Christ in China as the one to be considered. While this is in advance of what has taken place in most churches, it also has a good deal that is typical of conditions in other churches all over China. In the Chinese Year Book for 1926, page 180, an account of this is given. Also in the Report on Japan and China by Speer and Kerr for 1926 it is further considered and the constitution given. According to the proposals of this church, which have been ratified by five of the seven co-operating missions and churches, the missions and the church would be merged. The work that now is being looked after by the missions, including all institutions, would be taken over by the church. Property is to be loaned to this church by the Mission Boards. The Boards are to continue for a period of five years the same amount of contribution to this church which they gave to the missions before. After that, if a decrease is necessary, it is to be gradual. "The receiving of aid from foreign Boards would not, it was felt, militate against the real autonomy sought if it did not carry with it foreign control." According to this plan the staffs of all the co-operating missions would be brought under the control of the church. Missionaries would receive their appointments from this church and would be responsible to it for the performance of the duties assigned to them by it. Their furloughs and return to the field after furlough would also be decided by the church. A careful study of this and other developments in China since 1925 impresses one with the fact that the present political situation is being allowed to influence greatly the movement towards devolution and that a church that is indigenous in name and not in reality is in danger of being hastily established. In this connection it will be of interest to quote the statement concerning the Lutheran Church in China, page 189

of the 1926 Chinese Year Book. "This Ching Hwa Sin I Chiao Hwei is a self governing Chinese Church. Every action is decided by majority vote except questions of confession which the constitution declares 'shall be unalterable.' Missionaries are members of the local councils and are represented in the district councils, the Synod and the General Assembly.... The educational policy of the church as a whole is determined by the educational board, most of whose members are Chinese. Plans are now under way for the development of Boards of Directors for hospitals, middle and normal schools."

In Africa the Church has made gratifying progress towards self-government. The situation was well summed up in the International Review of Missions for October 1924 as follows: "Devolution goes forward at a steady although not a rapid pace. Wider spheres are being assigned to the individual Africans and their voice is finding fuller expression in joint councils of mission and church. Among the advances in the direction of devolution may be mentioned the largely increasing responsibility laid upon African clergy in Uganda and in southern Nigeria; the establishment of effective Synodical control of the work under the direction of the Scottish Mission on the Gold Coast; the steady advance forward by the church of the Paris Mission, Basutaland, towards autonomy; the granting of a constitution to the Thonga Church by the Swiss Mission and action taken in the same direction by the Swedish and Finish Missions. The formation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa was consummated at Lovedale in July 1923."

Again, in the International Missionary Review of the World for July 1926, we learn that "the United Free Church of Scotland has approved the formation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church, the Presbytery of which includes both European and native ministers and in which *today white missionaries sit under a black moderator.*"

In many ways the most remarkable church in Africa is the one in Uganda. In spite of its phenomenal growth in numbers in recent years it has in a remarkable degree



*been self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating. The church is organized on a self-governing basis from the ground up. All missionaries work in and under the church. Until recently this church was native only, but now the constitution of the church has been so modified as to allow the European Church in that part of Africa to become an integral part of this church. Here race differences seem to have been forgotten and all have become one in Christ Jesus their Lord. Another matter of interest is that since 1924 provision has been made that twelve women shall have membership in the supreme governing body of this church.*

India is the home of a very old indigenous church. It is the Syrian Church on the Malabar Coast. It is also the oldest Protestant mission field in the East. It is natural, therefore, to look here for marked progress in developing indigenous churches. However, lest we should be disappointed, we should remember that India has been the land of mass movements. The great majority of the Christians are from the outcaste classes and are very poor.

The oldest Protestant Church in India in reality is the one of the Tinnevely diocese of the Church of England. It dates back to the time of the Danish missionary effort and to Ziegenbalg and Schwartz. It is made up by a union of the Church Missionary Society's work with that of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and numbers over 120,000 Christians. This church is governed by a diocesan council of which a white bishop is president. However, the overwhelming majority of its members are Indian. It has complete control of all the work of the church and mission in this section except that of a few educational institutions. One of the most interesting developments is that of Dornokal. An Indian bishop is in control and missionaries as well as all the church mission work in his diocese are directed by him just as in the case in dioceses with white bishops. While the organization is Western, the Indian bishop has been at liberty to develop much of this work along Indian



lines. In this connection a statement by an English missionary is worthy of notice: "We look forward in the near future, and especially after the disestablishment of the Church of England in India, which now seems imminent, to diocesan organizations which will in many instances be prevalently Indian rather than English and will administer the work which was carried on by the mission receiving possibly for some time a diminishing grant from the society."

The South India United Church is one of the outstanding churches in self-government. It is a strong church, well organized and manifesting a marked ability for self-government. Missionaries are members of the church body, but are greatly outnumbered by Indians. They do not take a conspicuous part in the work of the church. The church looks after all congregational, evangelistic and some institutional work. While appreciable progress has been made in self-support, it was not considered an essential to the establishment of the church.

The Presbyterian Church North with the Congregationalists in 1925 prepared a constitution for a proposed united church. According to this, the foreign missionary has no representation in the Assembly and the Synods. Just what his status is to be on the church councils has not yet been worked out.

In the Wesleyan Mission the Synod consists of ordained missionaries, native pastors and in the Representative Session laymen as well. At present all pastoral and nearly all elementary school work is controlled by the Synod. A new scheme proposes to put the appointment of missionaries and all mission work except the furloughs and salaries of missionaries under the Synod.

When we come to the Lutheran Church we find a great deal of progress has been made in developing an indigenous church. The most advanced church is the Gosaner Autonomous Church of North India numbering over 100,000 members. Its development was a result of the war. All German missionaries had to leave. The church, to continue its existence, needed a separate orga-

nization which was prepared on an autonomous basis. No missionaries are members of this church. It carried on all the church and evangelistic work of the mission and that of some institutions. It was assisted by an advisory committee of missionaries and by the presence of one or two missionaries sent there from the U. L. C. mission at the church's and advisory committee's request, particularly for the elementary schools and the institutional work of the church. It received some funds from the National Lutheran Council in America during this time of stress. German missionaries are now returning. The real test of the permanency of this form of organization will come in the next few years. However, if the agreement which has been drawn up between the church and the returning missionaries stands, the church will continue to preserve its autonomous character and be one of the outstanding indigenous churches of India.

In South India there was a somewhat similar development in what was, before the war, the old Leipsic Mission. Here the development took place in connection with the Church of the Swedish Mission. The most interesting thing in connection with it is that it has an episcopal form of government with a white bishop at its head. This church did not go as far as the Gossaner Church in developing independent self-government.

For us the development in the U. L. C. Mission is of most interest. For a number of years all the church work of the mission has been under the control of the Synods in which Indian membership far outnumbers that of the missionaries. The elementary schools also on the Guntur side of the mission were in charge of the Guntur Synod. A constitution which will co-ordinate the work of the two synods and establish one Andhra-Evangelical Lutheran Church for the whole mission with its membership of 129,000 has been approved by the Board and Church in America and is being put into operation in India. This makes the work church-centric. In this body missionaries, men and women, who have work in the church will be members. However, their number

will be comparatively small compared with the number of Indian members. This church will have charge of all the usual work that belongs to a church, all the elementary schools of the mission except a few for girls, the training of its own gospel workers and some other matters. The Mission and Board have expressed their readiness to hand over to this body more of the work now looked after by the mission as soon as this church is ready and willing to accept them. The church is now established with a definite organization which looks forward to gradual but much greater development in the future.

Regarding self-government, then, it is, in general, safe to say that great progress has been made. A few churches like the one in Japan may be classed as completely self-governing. In the great majority of cases, however, there is co-operation between the missionaries and the church. There are a number of missions which have made little progress whatever in developing a self-governing church. It needs also to be pointed out that in some cases the so-called self-government is only a form and not a reality. In some cases the fault may lie with the missionaries who by their connection with mission and Board dominate the church. In other cases it may be the fault of the church which is unwilling or incapable of facing the real situation and making its organization and work conform to the elements essential to the church. Then, too, no one church seems to have perfectly solved the difficult problem of the relation of missionaries to this church. It is clear, however, that the method is not the essential thing. Whatever method may be employed, the thing of prime importance is the spirit of those who are concerned. Where missionaries and native church leaders approach the matter in a spirit of Christian, brotherly love with a sincere desire to do what is best for the establishing of the Kingdom of God in the world, the matter can and will be solved.

## SELF-SUPPORT

When we come to a consideration of self-support we are met with many practical problems. A great many different practices prevail on the mission field. Opinions vary a great deal as to whether self-support is an absolute necessity for an indigenous church or not. There is on the one hand the question whether the church can develop the self-respect and free spirit essential to an indigenous church without real self-support. There is on the other hand the practical problem of how a church, particularly if it is a very poor one, and is increasing rapidly, has been organized on Western lines and has been trained to depend on Western support for a long time, can be changed to a self-support basis. It seems essential to find a solution that will be a combination of the two. In working out this solution much will depend on the way in which the money may be given to the church and on the way in which it is received. In the West help given to home mission churches, to institutions through endowments and the like does not seem to be harmful. Where work is well established and old, the process of change can only be gradual. In most cases this is being done by a budget which decreases gradually through the years. This gives time for the church to reorganize and adjust itself to a self-supporting basis.

It is well to note also that mere self-support does not necessarily make a church indigenous. It may be capable of supporting itself and yet be incapable, because of other important deficiencies, of bearing the responsibility of self-government. A case in point is that of the South Sea Islands. In Lifau, Samoa, Gilbert and other islands the native Christians of the London Mission have not only entirely supported all the mission work on their islands, but have also paid enough to bear entirely or in part the salaries and furlough expenses of foreign missionaries as well. Yet the church continues, to a considerable extent, to be dependent on foreign guidance and control. The situation is summed up in the follow-

ing paragraph which appears on page 497 of the I. R. M. for 1922. "The conclusion of the whole matter is that to leave these native churches without the friendship and guidance of white men is to make certain the decadence of church life and to endanger the very physical existence of the tribes themselves." White and brown immigration and civilizations coming into contact with these simple primitive people and exposing them to new problems and temptations constitute the problem. To meet this problem the best kind of leadership from the incoming races is needed to render to these peoples the assistance which they need under the present trying circumstances.

In considering concrete cases of self-support it is not necessary to say much more about Japan than has already been mentioned. The church there is built up on a self-supporting basis. Even though this has entailed much manly sacrifice on the part of the church and its leaders it has been resolutely held to and has had beneficial results.

In Korea the work was begun on a self-supporting basis. Although economic conditions there are not very much different from conditions in China, Korea far outstrips that country in self-support today. The Presbyterian Church in 1926 reports 537 congregations out of 1625 as entirely self-supporting.

For China we have the following statement from Dr. Kerr regarding the Presbyterian Church: "Our Church, which contributes over \$1,000,000 gold for work in China, reports only some thirty-one self-supporting churches. The record varies from year to year and suggests a lack of stability and continuing strength." This is quoted because it is fairly representative of the situation all over China. Out of 5424 organized congregations reported in the *Missionary World Atlas* in 1925 only 145 are listed as self-supporting. The one exception seems to be that of Kwantung Province of South China which has attained a considerable measure of self-support.

In Africa we find much progress has been made in this

line. The Chinese Recorder Jan. 1922, page 26, says: "Africa has been the scene of some of the earliest and some of the most successful experiments in self-support." The C. M. S. annual report of 1919 says concerning its Serra Leon Mission: "In 1861 the Serra Leon native church was organized on an independent basis and undertook the support of its own pastors, churches and schools aided by a small grant which ceased in 1890." In Natal the American Baptist Conference of Foreign Missions Church has received no support from America since 1894. A pastor will be ordained only when a congregation shows that it can support him. Over 1,000 congregations are reported as self-supporting by the South African Missionary Society according to the Missionary World Atlas for 1925. We are told that "the whole of the pastoral, educational and missionary work of the Church in Uganda is maintained entirely from native sources. The C. M. S. funds only are employed for the support of the European missionaries there. The peculiarly favorable economic conditions in Uganda and a definite policy of self-support from the beginning help to account for the good work done by the church there.

Madagascar, New Zealand, and the South Sea Islands should not be overlooked in a statement regarding self-support. In a number of the islands, as has been pointed out already, not only the expense of the local work but also the salaries and furlough expenses of the missionaries are paid by the native church.

One of the interesting developments in India is the Bassein Karem Mission in Burma. It was begun in 1813 by E. T. Abbot and received Rs. 600 (about \$200) help for some time and later refused any outside assistance. "Scores of churches and schools have been built wholly with native funds, and a large Bassein Normal School and Industrial Institute was built and endowed largely by contributions by the Karem Churches." The American Baptist Mission in Burma reports 898 congregations there as self-supporting. In India proper the Tinnevali Church the whole of the support of the 89

Tomil clergymen is paid by the church. The mission, however, contributes towards the education of children. In the South Indian United Church there is a large degree of self-support in some sections. The plan followed is that of a decreasing subsidy from the mission. The Gos-saner Autonomous Church has courageously born a greatly increased amount of the cost of the work there since its formation. In the United Lutheran Church the offering from the native church increased 185 per cent during the last five years, while the amount given by the Mission Board to the church is less than it was in the year 1921. However, no definite policy prevails there with regard to the attainment of self-support.

Conditions vary so greatly that it is difficult to draw general conclusions of much value from a study of the work in various countries. A study of the situation seems to warrant the conclusion that in developing self-support the Church in India and China is behind that of most other countries. Also it seems safe to conclude self-support has not progressed as far as self-government. It is clear that those missions and churches which have a definite policy on this subject are the ones which have made greatest progress. Where in addition to this the work, without building up a large foreign organization, was begun on a self-supporting basis the most substantial results have been obtained. Great mission and church organizations which have not developed in this way cannot, it is plain, suddenly adjust themselves to this standard. Yet they can make it a definite policy, the attainment of which they are sincerely struggling to reach. And in the case of the beginning of new work it would seem expedient to adopt a much simpler organization and give self-support a much more important place. For while it is possible to overemphasize the importance of self-support, it is at the same time necessary to recognize that a church cannot be really indigenous without being able to fully support itself. There is, perhaps, one thing more that might be pointed out and that is that it is not so much a matter of money as a matter of mental



attitude that makes this essential. And this to be of value must be more or less spontaneous on the part of the church. It cannot be forced on the church by Mission or Board. In entirely new work the natural spirit of independence which made the old religion such as Hinduism self-supporting, needs to be conserved. In the case of great mission organizations which have grown up on the principle of foreign support, the spirit which will yield self-support needs to be nurtured and developed in the church until its members realize its importance and are ready sincerely to struggle and sacrifice for its attainment.

#### SELF-PROPAGATION

While progress in self-propagation is probably the most difficult to evaluate, its importance can hardly be overestimated. If the great masses of non-Christians in China, India and other non-Christian countries are to be fully evangelized it will have to be done by the churches in those lands. That it is a task which is quite impossible for Western missionaries and money alone, is certain. Nor can it be done merely by the paid agents of the native church. It can and must be done by the life and evangelistic zeal of the lay members of the church, the paid employees and the missionaries united in one great loving effort. The church needs to be a self-propagating body for its own life and development. Only as that church, set on fire with a great zeal for the salvation of all men, loses itself in the great cause of evangelizing others, can it attain to what is best in Christian life and character. The very nature of Christianity then demands that a church, if it is to be filled with life, shall be self-propagative. How far has the church today in various mission fields realized this great ideal?

While the Japanese church has made great progress in self-government and self-support, it has fallen behind in self-propagation. So much of its energy has had to be devoted to self-support that it does not seem to have had



enough strength left, to enter upon an energetic evangelistic program. It has been inclined to let this be a task for foreign missionaries.

The Korean Church, on the other hand, has from the beginning shown a remarkable spirit of self-propagation. This manifested itself in voluntary personal work of a fine character. Individuals were not considered fit for membership in the church until they had brought in at least one additional soul. The church there reached out into other lands and established missions for its own people. One was located in Manchuria and another at Vladivostok. The latter has become self-supporting. Another mission for Chinese was established in the Shantung Province of China.

Most reports on China speak with an air of disappointment. The attention of the church during the last few years has been so absorbed by the political situation and its attendant problems that evangelism has lagged. Dr. H. T. Hodgkin, recognizing a decline in personal evangelistic endeavor, gives as the chief reason for it "widespread uncertainty as to the message itself." Another reason for the lack of evangelism here seems to be the fact that the work is over-institutionalized. Missionaries and leaders are so absorbed in administration that they have little or no time to do evangelistic work, and the church from their example becomes absorbed in like interests. Bishop Brierly of the Methodist Church says that he "is convinced that the fundamental evangelistic need is a more deeply spiritualized church membership." In the Presbyterian Church for 1926 the total membership falls below that of the previous year. The number of admissions to the church was 3657 and the total number of workers in the employ of the mission was 3626 making one new member per year for every paid worker.<sup>20</sup>

In Africa there have been gratifying results along this line. The most striking example, of course, is Uganda, where the growth of the Christian Church has been re-

20 Report of Speer and Kerr on Japan and China for 1926.

markable. In its early history in ten years it increased from 300 to 30,000. It has been steadily reaching out into new fields and provinces, sending missionaries and there beginning new churches which in time become new centers of missionary influence. Bishop Tucker of the Anglican Church Conference in 1901 said concerning this growth: "And who has been the instrument in all this wide-spread exangelistic and missionary effort? It has been the Muganda himself. The church of Uganda is a self-extending church because from the very beginning the line which has been adopted has been that of laying upon each individual convert the responsibility of handing on that truth which he himself has received and which has made him 'wise unto salvation.'"<sup>21</sup>

In India, for a number of years now, the church has had a net yearly increase in membership of over 100,000. While this large increase is due in a large part to mass movements it is well to remember that no small part of the mass movement is due to the voluntary Christian work of Christians of one village with relatives and friends, usually of the same caste, from another village. And so the work spreads from village to village, frequently without any effort on the part of missionary or paid worker. Many of the churches in India have in addition to the work in their own field definite home and foreign mission fields which they support entirely themselves. Attention has already been called to the fine piece of mission work done by the Tinnevely Church in Nizain's Dominions at Dornakal. Most of the leading churches are united in the National Missionary Society. This is a mission effort by the church alone and is accomplishing some gratifying results. The Lutheran Churches in India have united in their effort, and support a mission in Rewa and Jarsaguda. All funds for this work come from India. In addition to this, both on the Guntur and Rajahmundry sides of the U. L. C. mission there are home mission projects of considerable size which also are supported by the Indian Church. The

21 Report on Japan and China by Speer and Kerr, p. 524.

budget for the work on the Guntur side exceeds Rs. 4000 (about \$1400) per year.

In conclusion we may say that not a few of the churches on the mission field are making sincere and successful efforts at self-extension. The amount that is actually being done varies greatly with different missions and countries. Those which have succeeded best are the ones which started out with a strong emphasis on evangelism for the church and which have continued that ideal at all costs. However, a careful survey of the situation also reveals, in a large number of reports of work, a tone of disappointment that the church has not measured up in a larger measure to its opportunity and responsibility in this matter. For this the presence and attitude of missionaries is to be held partially responsible. The church also has been all too ready to regard its responsibility here lightly. Be that as it may, its importance cannot be denied. *Further, it must be recognized that its dynamic lies in a life hidden in Christ.*

#### THE CHARACTER OF THE CHURCH'S LIFE

One more item remains for consideration, namely, the extent to which the church's life is manifesting itself in practical living. One of the most gratifying things in mission work today is the consciousness that on every field in practically every mission there have arisen men and women whose Christian character and life are an inspiration to those who come into contact with them. They may be the product of thorough Christian education or they may be unable to read or write. Yet so plainly has Christ worked a miracle in their lives that even the *sceptical must be convinced that all the expense and effort put on the mission cause is worth while. It is quite impossible to calculate the great influence that has radiated from the Christian Church and has awakened the non-Christian people in various lands to a realization of the abuses and evils that are present in their social systems. Its influence has been felt not only in social matters but*

in religion, politics and education as well. The Church has set itself in most lands to lifting the *moral standards* of its members, improving their living conditions, giving the children an education and the like. When one remembers the comparatively small number of Christians in these lands, the subordinate position in society they often occupy, the frequent economic dependence of the Christians on non-Christians, etc., he realizes more clearly what a fine result has been attained. Yet at the same time we cannot say that the church has arrived at perfection by any means. There are many Christians who are such only in name and little more. They are a liability and not an asset to the church. There are, too, cases where under the guise of "indigenous," customs and moral standards which are inconsistent with the spirit and standard of Christ are tolerated. If the Church is to accomplish its mission and be truly indigenous it dare not do less than struggle whole-heartedly to conform its entire life to the ideal we have in Jesus Christ.

We close then with the conviction that there is a church on the foreign mission field today that is real and powerful. In some fields that church is now indigenous and in others it is rapidly becoming so. On the other hand, many and different problems yet remain for missions and particularly the church to solve. However, we rest confident in the fact that none of those problems are beyond solution if missions and churches remain loyal to the great head of the church, even Jesus Christ.

## COLUMBIONA-ON-LAKE-GEORGE

M. HADWIN FISCHER

GETTYSBURG, PA.

It's not the place that makes Columbiona-On-Lake George a delightful memory. It's something bigger, something finer that reaches out beyond the majestic hills, across the silvered bay, and makes the soul conscious of more than human presence.

That something is the spirit of Columbiona. To Dr. Wilbert W. White of the Biblical Seminary, New York, belongs credit for the ideal that has made it possible. It was the sense of the need that visualized the conferences that for the past three years have been bringing together religious leaders to discuss problems vital to church life.

Columbiona is on Lake George, just north of Silver Bay. The beautiful estate came into the hands of Dr. White through a daring faith that ventured and received its reward. It would be interesting to know just how much of divine guidance entered into the plans that gave deed to the property at little more than one third of the original expenditure.

The lodge is ideally located on a point high above the lake. Nature has spared no pains to make it a real beauty spot. Few bodies of water equal the scenic grandeur of Lake George. Its thirty-two miles of length offer ever changing scenes of marvelous beauty. The high, rugged mountains afford backgrounds for shifting cloud scenery that is at the same time fascinating and baffling.

To the scenic beauty is added an hospitable welcome that shows its genuineness with succeeding days. The conveniences, the freedom, the fellowship, the leadership—these all tend to give the visitor a world contact,

a sympathy with those who see things from other viewpoints.

Attendance at the conference is by invitation. The personnel includes College Presidents, Teachers of Bible, Religious Education and Church Board Executives. They come from Canada, and the length and breadth of the United States. They represent various denominations and wide ranges of thought within the Evangelical faith. It is interesting to note that the United Lutheran Church was well represented.

The leader, of course, is Dr. White, who is host to the conferences. This year there was associated with him Dr. T. R. Glover, Public Orator of Cambridge University, Cambridge, England. Together they made a wonderful team, and the fellowship under their guidance was delightful.

Of special interest was the Bible Hour. This came first in the morning and gave spiritual tone to the day's deliberations. It was followed by the study of problems that have to do with *Group Functioning*. The fullest liberty of expression was permitted. Each man was responsible only for his own opinions, and no opinion was binding upon the group. Through it all was a seriousness well becoming such a gathering.

No special program was arranged that had to be accepted, and no effort at propaganda was put forth. It was an earnest effort to discover modern religious needs, and if possible adequate ways of meeting them. As one might expect, widely divergent views were expressed, yet the splendid spirit of brotherly love kept all semblance of controversy in the background. Opposing views were frankly recognized and respected, but not once was there any effort to belittle or discredit an honest opinion.

The following topics were suggested as offering material for discussion.

1. Diagnosis of present situation; pressing problems which the church faces; principles of group efficiency; lessons from typical groups.
2. What is Christianity? Comparison of ethnic sys-

tems. Who is a Christian? The individual and the group; the leader; the first Christian group; early groupings in the Christian group.

3. What is the church—Its origin, nature, objective? Special topic: The Resurrection in relation to the origin of the Christian group.

4. The origin of the Christian church: Jewish antecedents; the Old Testament; origin of the Christian church in relation to Judaism in transition (especially 30 to 70 A. D.).

5. The Bible; translations; authority. Special question: What is the supreme court of appeal in Christianity,—the Bible, the Church, or human reason?

6. Christ: His person and work; atonement. Special topic: What is modernism?

7. The three large Christian groups; the Greek Church; the Roman Church; the Protestant Church. Creeds; denominations; the Lausanne Conference; church unity.

8. Primary groups in society: the church; the school; the state; the family; the economic group. Special topic: Religious Education, with particular attention to the place of the Bible in the same.

9. Program; the Gospel for today; content; method; conduct; strategy; tactics.

10. Special request topics; review and findings.

Between conference sessions the widest freedom was allowed. Many of the men donned overalls and enjoyed an hour or so of physical labor. Others hiked, went swimming or rested. The days were full, happy, profitable days that gave a breadth of vision and a depth of devotion that bids fair to create a better understanding among workmen in the Master's kingdom.

It is the hope of Dr. White that Columbonia-on-Lake George should become to religious leaders what Northfield is to Missions, and what Williamstown is to leaders in political science. In his dream of expansion he sees the hillside dotted with cabins to which busy leaders may come and where, away from the busy whirl of wheels, or

the tireless appeals of humanity, they may reduce to form the ideals that crave expression. What a boon this would be to authors, pastors and busy religious executives only those who toil to the limit can know.

As one of the favored few permitted to enjoy this rare retreat the writer voices the hope that Columbiana may become all that the leader desires. America needs just such a spot where a frank, fair exchange of religious conviction may be expressed without fear of ridicule. In fact many of our denominations could well afford to have centers of their own where great, stirring questions of the church might be studied without fear or favor. This would seem to be a move in the direction of better understanding and greater efficiency.

September 21st, 1927.



## RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

M. HADWIN FISHER

*The Kingdom of Love.* By Blanche Carrier, B.R.E. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927. Teacher's book, XVIII+ 290 pages. Pupil's book 52 pages. \$2.00

As the successful supervisor of Week-day schools of Religion at Dayton, Ohio, Miss Carrier is amply qualified to prepare texts for this field. In *The Kingdom of Love* "the aim of the course is to help the pupil see Jesus so vividly, and through Jesus, to see God in so wholesome a light, that he will desire to become Christ-like in his own everyday life, and to worship God in spirit and in truth."

The study is planned for pupils of the 6th, 7th, and 8th grades. Sufficient material is provided to supply work for a whole year. The pupil's interest is challenged from the first lesson. Through clearness of aim, conversations, stories, discussions, picture study, hymn study, note-book work, worship and outside activities this interest is developed into a desire to be and act like his ideal.

Through a period of five years the course has been subject to criticism and revision in the class-room. It comes to us out of a background of rich, fruitful experience. Every suggestion will make its appeal to the early adolescent, and center his energy in wholesome, benevolent activity.

Dr. Luther A. Weigle says, "The course is evangelistic, in the best sense of the term. Its discussions of the church, of working with God, and of what it means to be a christian to-day, are fresh and stimulating. The treatment of prayer, including a series of stories in interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, is helpful. I believe that this course will lead young folk in the early 'teens to want to be followers of Jesus Christ, just because it presents His life and His way of conceiving the Kingdom of Love so understandingly and interestingly. . . . We shall certainly use this course next year in some of the church schools, Sunday and weekday, of New Haven."

*Jesus and His Friends.* By Mabel B. Fenner, Phila.: United Lutheran Publication Society, 1927. Pupil's Text, 143 pages, 60c. Teacher's Text, 152 pages, 85c.

As the title indicates this is a study of Jesus and His friends. The lessons cover the second year Primary in the Lutheran Re-

ligious Education texts. In the compass of thirty weeks the author plans to have the children learn something of: (1) The Boy Jesus, (2) What Jesus did when he grew up, (3) Friends of Jesus, (4) What the friends of Jesus do, (5) Easter Lessons, and (6) Why we are thankful to God.

The Lesson Plan includes: A Presession Period, Approach to the Lesson, Lesson Story, Memory Verse, Hymns, Handwork, Catechism, Missionary Story, Worship Period.

The period is built around a carefully selected story, and every part of the lesson has a contribution to make. Books for teacher and pupils are illustrated with prints from the Masters. Home work provides opportunity for pupil expression which gives the teacher material for a check-up on the pupil's progress.

*God's Care of Mankind.* By Eva M. Stilz. Phila.: United Lutheran Publication Society, 1927. Pupil's Text, 70 pages, 50c. Teacher's Text, 110 pages, 75c.

This is book five in the Lutheran Religious Education Texts. Continuing the plan of book four Miss Stilz has written a text that will make a strong appeal to the Junior Child. The teacher's book contains a carefully planned program for the class as well as the material for the use of the pupil. At the beginning of each lesson the aim is carefully stated and the memory work listed. This is followed by a plan for teaching the lesson, a summary and suggestions calling attention to teacher's tools, supplies and methods. These are invaluable. There are also suggested hymns and lesson story.

Like other volumes of this series the text is well printed on good paper. The very appearance appeals, but to the worker with Juniors the arrangement and subject matter give the real value to the text.

*Lesson Commentary For Sunday Schools.* By Wiles, Hunton and Smith. Phila.: United Lutheran Publication Society, 1927. VI+324 pages. \$1.75

The Lesson Commentary for 1928, a well-bound volume of over 324 pages, is a worthy successor to its predecessors. The plan of the book provides the lesson text using the American Standard Revision, Golden text, Goal, Lesson plan, Oriental side-lights, Geographical and historical setting, The text interpreted, Truths for daily living, and Preparing for the next lesson.

The lesson plan does not slavishly follow a formula. The editors have made the text furnish the analysis. This provides ample suggestion for those who want a clean-cut scriptural treatment.

Oriental side-lights, so essential to an understanding of the

habits and life of the people, are well written. These with the geographical and historical setting provide rich funds of information for the busy teacher. The Interpretations and Truths for daily living draw facts from a wide field and offer fine illustrative material so coveted by those who want to make the lesson bristle with items of human interest.

The section on "Preparing for the next lesson" is especially valuable. It is not always easy to bridge the gaps between lessons and much time may be lost if one does not know where to go for materials. This feature with its suggestions on procedure is a fine asset to the busy worker.

### PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

#### ECHOES FROM THE PULPIT

H. D. HOOVER

Here are a few volumes of sermons, essays, talks and verbal efforts of men occupying pulpits of very different kinds. There seems to be no dam in the stream that flows between the pulpit and the book mart through the publishing house. An examination of modern sermonic literature brings to mind the builders practical masterpiece in the way of moderately priced homes—houses arranged row on row: an endless succession of doors and windows and chimneys. There appears no cathedral-like creation of a *Robertson* in the wearisome reach of medium sized structures; yet here and there is to be found a beautiful or a substantial structure, either on an eminence of the Rock of Ages, or surrounded by the beauties of a garden of Christian culture.

Before me is a volume<sup>1</sup> so different that one is reminded of the farmer who attended a circus in the 1880's. When he saw the elephant he voiced his infidelity in the language of his locality: "Soeppas gepts net". ("There is no such thing.") The names of the preachers are not unfamiliar to Unitarians. There is no lack of ability and scholarship of a certain kind.

Recently I watched telephone linemen place beautiful tall cedar poles along the street. How easily they handled these fine poles. But they were dead timber. Their decay has already begun. How much they differ from living trees. These sermons remind me of stately shaped poles.

They aim to set forth Humanism. Their theological positions may be guessed from the following quotations: "Our children . . . will look back upon these things (Bible reading, Sabbath

1 *Humanist Sermons*. Edited by Curtis W. Reese. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1927. 262 pages. \$2.50

observance, church attendance, creeds, rituals, sacraments) very largely as we look back upon sacrificial offerings, magic charms and incantations, ceremonial dances and medicine men—interesting relics, but nothing more.” “Baptism, with enlightened people, is no longer a sacrament.” “The Ten Commandments, as recorded in the Bible, have no divine authority.” “As for the Son of God and his atonement, it is all a myth as patent as the quest of Theseus or the labors of Hercules.” Verily humanity has been exalted when it can rise up and speak to Almighty God in this fashion!

Another book.<sup>2</sup> The first impression given is that the author could have given a finer book of sermons if he had had sufficient time. There are evidences that the author is also a victim of the demands upon the ministry which make his shoes “the most important part of his equipment.” Commonplace titles are used to present sane advice: “Picture Ahead”, “Give us more Heat”, “Pushed to Power.” The first title “Rough-Hewed” somehow fittingly represents the content. There is some roughness, there are chips, there is also the hewn log. The book has many good things in it.

There follows<sup>3</sup> another “goblet of Song” from the pulpit charmer from Australia, now in the States on a visit. This volume may be likened to a journey along a picturesque stream and its interesting branchlets, through flowering undergrowths, past a towering tree here and there; climbing beside water-falls, or descending to carpeted valleys. These story-form sermons, given in a cadence of choice language and lacey imagery, come like the strains of an aeolian harp. They have their message. Of course they cannot displace the trumpet whose sounds are sometimes so necessary.

Let me turn now to a volume of essays reddening into the light of sermons here and there.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Hough declares that “in our own day a new sort of sermon has been evolved. It has its connections with some older forms, so that it is not like Melchizedek, without ancestry . . . This new sermon is written by a man of letters who reads everything, and lets every characteristic aspect of American life blow through his mind as the winds blow through the leaves of trees. Then he brings all this knowledge and feeling to the test of the great and commanding experiences and expressions to be found in the Old Testament and the New.”

This twenty-fifth volume from the pen of this aeroplane reader

2 *Rough-Hewed, and other Sermons.* By Raymond Lalor Forman. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 212 pages. \$1.50.

3 *The Nest of Spears.* By Rev. F. W. Boreham. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 284 pages. \$1.75.

4 *Adventures in the Minds of Men.* By Lynn Harold Hough. New York: Abingdon Press, 1927. 220 pages. \$1.50.

of books is an approach unto the new kind of sermon. A good many books breezed through the mind of Dr. Hough, and received mention in these essays, conversations and monologues. There are echoes of the days when the Doctor taught theological students. In addition, a number of acquaintances and friends of the author come into view to make their bow or furnish an unfocused portrait, or shall I say "kodak", to top the accompanying line o'type of truth. It is a bushel measure, not hiding the light, but into which have been gathered seeds of truth, new and old. This "twenty-fifth" seems to have fallen heir to things that didn't fit into one or other of the previous twenty-four.

Pharaoh's Question<sup>5</sup> is a *princely* book. It is stimulating, close to life at its best, and loaded with fruitful thinking. The eight addresses of this book should prove the spring of eighty others. It is bound to flash a flame upon the unlit torches of the sympathetic reader. Here is a volume which will not die and be buried on the library shelf. Its proper use by the luncheon club speaker, college chapel leader, and Bible class lecturer (commonly called teacher) will help to keep him from going into the field to sow only in motion.

\* \* \*

*The Sermon, Its Homiletical Construction.* By R. C. H. Lenski. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 314 pages. \$2.00.

We would like to have the printer use *red ink* to publish this review. In our humble judgment this is the finest book on this subject extant. It lives up to its title. It is definite, clear, comprehensive, accurate and concrete in treatment. It is not a series of lectures, either on preaching, or sermonizing, but a genuine text-book, so constructed that the teacher can arrange a laboratory manual to be used in connection therewith—as the writer is now doing. It can be used as a radiating center for lectures on preaching and sermonizing.

The book is a valuable guide to the teacher, and a splendid light on the path of the theological student and young preacher just beginning his career. It will serve as a searching examiner of the minister who has gotten into bad habits of sermon construction and pulpit preparation. This book should contribute to the solution of a great need of the hour—the demand for better preaching of the gospel.

<sup>5</sup> *Pharaoh's Question, and Other Addresses.* By Professor Leon C. Prince. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 180 pages. \$1.00.

*God Is At The Organ.* By William L. Stidger, New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 252 pages. \$1.50.

"Following the first chapter (entitled the same as the book) there are seven chapters dealing with new scientific discoveries and their relation to God." The second part of the book contains seven "nature sermons." These pulpit talks are not sermons so far as construction is concerned. They are typically Stidgerian journalistic rather loosely constructed talks, filled with references to contemporary happenings, places, literature and biography. In the attempt to present Divine truth in a popular way nearly every contraption of modern life is brought into use.

*Jesus as a Philosopher.* By Herman Harrell Horne. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 208 pages. \$1.00.

Manuscripts for books spring forth from many likely and unlikely places. The eleven chapters of this book emerged from the cage of the broadcasting studio and perched together between the covers of the book. The author speaks the truth, bringing forth from his store things new and old. They would make good Lion Club luncheon talks. Some presentations are not strong: I would much rather read Valentine on Immortality, for example.

*Fuel For the Fire.* By C. B. Gohdes. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1927. 344 pages. \$2.00.

This volume gives "choice illustrations covering a wide range of Bible truths." The chief value of a book of illustrations is to furnish the reader with a glimpse into the methods of the author, the skill and interpretative sight and insight into things, events, nature and human nature, literature, art and history. This volume is free from objectional material, forced applications, foibles and fancies. It has many usable incidents and anecdotes. It has little of the contemporary. Some tales belong to folklore.

*In the Morning Hour.* By Carl A. Swenson. Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1927. 374 pages.

Here we have another book of meditations for everyday in the year. It is suitable for private or family devotions. It follows the same plan as "Five Minutes With Luther" by Dr. Mueller: each day's portion has a Bible text, an explanation, and a stanza of poetry or hymn. It bears the marks of being a translation, i. e., of having been written in another language. It will not appeal to many readers. The use of it will not be as helpful as the method of studying consecutive portions of scripture and the gathering of one's own anthology of hymn and poetry.

*Christian Workship and Its Future.* By G. A. Johnston Ross. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 110 pages. \$1.00.

The five lectures which form the chapters of the book were delivered to the undergraduates of Ohio Wesleyan University. They are: The Present Situation, What is Worship? The Dimensions of Christian Worship, The Background of Christian Worship, The Worship of Tomorrow. The author seems to have a wide acquaintance with tendencies and practices of contemporary church worship. He aims to be constructive and is helpfully suggestive. The general objective he has in mind for the future, and for which he pleads, is to be found in liturgical Lutheran churches. He endorses the use of ritual most emphatically and pleads "for the beginning of attempts to set up a supernational, superlingual and superdenominational form of service for the expression and stimulation of that movement of the collective human soul in self-oblation which is the central response to the great objective fact of Divine Grace." The book closes with the expressed belief that "the worship of the future will be effective only as the hearts of the people are turned once again to the cross of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ."

*Order of Divine Worship.* By George A. Fahlund. Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1927. 92 pages.

This text, Course IX of the graded system of the Sunday Schools of the Augustana Synod, aims to teach the meaning of the ritual as used in that synod. Eight chapters are devoted to the service. In each of these there is a brief statement, followed by questions based on the text. Part two, containing four chapters, is devoted to an explanation of the church year. Part three gives typical hymns of the church with a sketch of the author or material pertinent to the hymn. There are three Swedish hymns, three by Luther, one of Gearhardt's, five of English origin. The wise use of this book should help to prevent routine and lifelessness in the worship. Unfortunately its use beyond the Augustana Synod is limited, as it is arranged in several particulars to fit the customs of this individual synod.

#### REVIEWS AND NOTICES: SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

JOHN ABERLY

*A Handbook of Christian Theology.* By J. A. Singmaster, D.D., LL.D. Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1927. 308 pages. \$2.25.

This is the third Text Book on Theology that grew out of the

Lectures on Theology given in the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa. The volumes published previously are Schmucker's *Popular Theology* and Valentine's *Christian Theology*. These three volumes will, we believe, be referred to in the future as showing the trend in Theology that marked the various periods in the Seminary's, if not in the American Lutheran Church's history.

We confine ourselves, however, to the volume before us. It is a Theology based on the revelation of God which we have in the Bible. A recent writer speaks of the "wavering attitude of the Lutheran Schools" of Theology as to whether religious faith ought to be linked up with faith in reason and whether one ought to try to find in reason a support of religion. As this writer seems to regard it, the volume before us follows those who would give reason a very subordinate place. It first considers the proofs of revelation, and having given *reasons* for accepting it, then in those matters that must be accepted on faith it receives them even though they can not be understood. They are however not unreasonable, though they transcend reason. While not committing oneself to every view that the author holds, one may say that this principle of Christian Theology seems to be the only one that can preserve Christian Theology as distinguished from a general Philosophy of Religion.

The author leaves one in no doubt as to what he believes. His style is clear. The matter is so brief that the statements at times may sound dogmatic. It must be remembered however that these are only the outlines on the basis of which fuller lectures were given.

If one looks for the speculative in this volume, he will be disappointed. If one looks for a statement of the things that are, on the basis of the scriptures, believed among us Lutherans, he will find them here in a clear concise form.

The editorial work of a talented daughter, as also the mechanical work of the Lutheran Publication House, are all that can be desired.

*The Wrestle of Religion with Truth.* By Henry Nelson Wieman, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. 256 pages. \$2.50.

Not a Theology, we are told, but a Philosophy of Religion. It moves around two foci—the behaviorist conception of life, the order the idea of God under the conception of what A. N. Whitehead in his *Religion in the Making* has called "Concretion." Bearing this in mind, we can see the reason for the novel definitions of old and familiar terms to which we are introduced in this



wrestling with truth. Thus: "Human life has been cradled and fostered by the behavior of the universe. God is that behavior of the universe which has thus nurtured human life and which continues to keep it going and growing" (p. 62).

"Worship is the way we establish that system of habits which is so adapted to the total environment as to catch the supporting lift and movement of this most helpful phrase of our total environment—God" (p. 70).

"Prayer is an attitude of the total personality which adjusts the mass of habits called the self to that order of environment which is most beneficial to human kind, in other words to God" (p. 73).

"Sin is failure to make that adaptation to God which the growing life requires" (p. 109); and again, "Evil is anything which hinders the prehensive capacity of any particular thing" (p. 200).

"Salvation is the progressive fulfilment of the deepest need of human nature" (p. 123).

Morley once stated that there are ten thousand definitions of Religion. Here is one that, we believe, is different: "Religion is man's acute awareness of the realm of unattained possibility and the behavior that results from this awareness" (p. 135). The good is defined as "any fulfilment of interest" (p. 160). "The ultimate cause, as we propose to treat it, is that structure of the totality of being which determines the bearing of this totality upon our interests, whether to fulfil or to frustrate them" (p. 160). Since however human nature and, therefore, human interests change, and since different groups are diverse in character and in interests, supreme good and ultimate cause may be different for different times and places (p. 166).

"Truth is the correct designation and description of features of the world" (p. 213). The author lays special stress on the fact that Religion is interested in truth. He says: "Religion cherishes and craves truth far more than science. If science should attain to the final truth about God and how best to adjust to him (supposing such a thing could ever be), religion would take over these findings and use them continuously and gloriously. But science would drop the matter entirely once the truth had been found" (p. 233).

The error that Religion can rest satisfied by substituting "sweet fancies and pleasurable states of consciousness" for truth, the author considers much more serious than the claim that it already has the truth, though this too he considers disastrous enough (pp. 244-248).

We have allowed the author to give his own definitions though in a few cases we have taken the liberty of slightly recasting a sentence. We followed the argument of the book with a good deal of interest and with not a little profit. As a philosophy it does not

admit of any special Revelation. It does however have a place for the prophet, who penetrates deepest into the environment which is here called God and finds the best ways of adjustment to that environment. Among these prophets, however, all the great religious founders stand on an equal footing. There is no special reach of God downward, though there is an all-embracing environment called God, which is "prehended" in different degrees by different prophets. Solitariness is therefore, as Whitehead has pointed out, an essential of religious apprehension. The author is strong in the conviction that Religion is one of the essentials of right adjustment. Such adjustment changes progressively as the divine order enters more and more into the world. At its apex is love "because it brings the world more fully to a concrete unity" (p. 197).

Our reading of the book has left two very decided impressions. The one is that every world-view that has any hope of satisfying our deepest need must posit God. Elert, in his book recently reviewed, may call Him *Schicksal* or Fate, this author may call Him the Behaviorism of the Universe. But, in whatever form He may be presented, no system will work without God. The second is the struggle that the book evidences. We once heard Sir Oliver Lodge say that the scientist must step by step climb the hill that faith may be able to reach on its wings. The book is marked by such a struggle. We doubt whether it will convince many that it has found the truth unless they already have the attitude that inclines them to accept it. The struggle here revealed, in which few of the unlearned could follow the author, impresses on us as never before the fact that if Love is the highest in the environment that the author calls God, it is very credible that Love should reveal itself to all men. The struggle—often futile—that we see here, as in the struggle of the ages—begets renewed confidence in Him Who came to reveal the Father and Who bids us learn of Him.

*The Philosophy of Personalism*, a Study in the Metaphysics of Religion. By Albert C. Knudson, Theol. D., LL.D., Dean of Boston University School of Theology and Professor of Systematic Theology. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 438 pages. \$3.50.

The book does not profess to offer to the reader a new Philosophy. It only aims to pass on, elucidate and defend that Philosophy of Personalism which, a generation ago, was set forth by Prof. Borden P. Bowne. Not for a long time have we read any book on the metaphysics of religion that is less abstruse and more stimulating. The fact that it is modest in asserting its claims

inspires confidence. "The fundamental question," we are told, "with reference to any philosophy is not as to whether it is logically demonstrable—no philosophy is that—but whether it offers to the mind the line of least resistance." And again: "Karl Marx said of his own philosophy, 'Here is truth; kneel down here'; No such dogmatic temper characterizes the personalist: He may be profoundly convinced of his own world-view, but he knows that the conditions under which it and every world-view is arrived at are not determined by any iron law of logic to which every mind must bow. Personal factors enter in that we cannot escape, and it is these that usually cast the deciding vote. One's character determines one's philosophy. We choose our world-view. Not national necessity but moral necessity is the final arbiter between competing systems, and moral necessity involves a volitional element. It implies an ideal that lies beyond the reach of pure logic, an ideal that we voluntarily recognize. This ideal does not coerce us, it does not compel assent. All that it can do is to present itself to our free spirits and then await their response. The response actually given is determined by ethical as well as purely logical considerations" (pp. 336-7).

We have quoted this because it seems to us to give better than we could in words of our own the standpoint from which the book is written. That Personalism gives us the best and only ground for knowledge that is trustworthy, that it leads us to a Reality that must be conceived of as Personal, that this gives a sure place not only for Religion, but also for Art and for Ethics—for all the spiritual values—this is argued here with a cogency and clarity which are often absent from philosophical discussions. No attempt is made to prove Religion as a whole, nor any particular Religion, such as Christianity, true. All the Author attempts to do is to show that the system gives an integral place to religion, and that it does not rule out any of the distinctive Christian teachings from its world-view. This is all that can be asked of any philosophy. We have no hesitation in recommending this work to all interested in such questions.

*The New Soul in China.* By George Richmond Grose—One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 151 pages. \$1.00.

It is difficult to get an up-to-date book on China. Events move so rapidly. However this book, though small in size, does come as close as anything that we have read to being a delineation of the situation in that country. The complex movements there are not overlooked. But through them all is discerned a struggle between the old order of tyranny and the new order of freedom, the former represented by the North, the latter by the South. That

Bolshevism is taking the occasion to further its interests is acknowledged, but this is only because the Chinese see in it a way of reaching their goal. That the intolerable burdens of rival military leaders add to the causes of unrest is also acknowledged, but these are not the main causes. The book looks on the present as presenting special opportunities for the right kind of Mission work. "The crisis (in Missions) arises not from the desperate-ness of the situation but from the magnitude of the opportunity." The call is to present Christ by preaching and by life. The Christ presented in the book is Saviour from social ills rather than Saviour from sin. But that is because as such Christ at the present time makes a special appeal to China. This little book will help the Church to get a true view of the task before her in that interesting land.

#### REVIEWS AND NOTICES: OLD TESTAMENT

*A History of the Jewish People.* By Max L. Margolis and Alexander Marx. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1927. Pages XXII+852. \$4.00.

"This book is published at the desire of the late Rosetta M. Ulman of Williamsport, Pa., from funds contributed from her estate . . . for the furtherance of truth and equity", says the announcement.

The book is well written. Good diction, clarity of thought and constant reference to authority reward the reader. The chapters are short, and topics are not burdened with lengthy descriptions and other space-filling material.

"The authors have endeavored to set forth the story in a manner as dispassionate and detached as possible." Wide reading has made possible a careful weaving of Jewish history with universal history. To bring the subject matter into proper relief the treatment falls into five sections. Book I carries the reader from 2,000 B. C. to 425 A. D., and deals with Jewish history in Palestine to the extinction of the patriarchate. Book II—175 to 1038 A. D., The eastern center until the extinction of the Gaonate. Book III—138 B. C. to 1492 A. D., Western European centers until the expulsion from Spain. Book IV—1492 to 1786 A. D., Emergence of new centers until the eve of the French Revolution. Book V—1787 to 1925 A. D., The age of emancipation.

A fine bibliography of 13 pages is suggestive of the wide field covered in this treatise. The chronological tables cover 20 pages, many of which are really folders of several pages each. This makes possible a comparative study of movements in the outstanding centers. An index of 48 pages and fifteen maps complete the

book. The authors have covered a big field in a splendid way. Their efforts will be appreciated by all fairminded students of history.

M. HADWIN FISCHER

*The Old Testament.* An American Translation. By Alexander Gordon, Theophile J. Meek, J. M. Powis Smith, Leroy Waterman. Edited by J. M. Powis Smith. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1713 pages. Cloth, \$7.50, postage extra.

This monumental work is the consummation of four years of labor on the part of four distinguished Old Testament scholars: Prof. Alex. R. Gordon, of the United Theological College and McGill University; Prof. Theophile Meek, of the University of Toronto; Prof. Leroy Waterman, of the University of Michigan; and Prof. J. M. Powis Smith, of the University of Chicago. Each took sections congenial to him; Prof. Meek has done the Pentateuch, Prof. Meek and Prof. Waterman the historical books, Prof. Smith and Prof. Gordon the poetical and the prophetic books—the latter doing Proverbs and the Major Prophets, the former Job, Psalms, Ecclesiastes and the Minor Prophets. Prof. Meek does the Song of Songs.

The translation is announced as "an American translation"—whatever that may mean. We should be glad to think that American English is as chaste as that used by the translators. They are not so unknown in the world of scholarship as to need this sub-title for identification. The apology for its publication is that "the control of the Hebrew vocabulary and syntax available to the scholar of today is vastly greater than that at the command of the translators of the Authorized Version or its revisers." the demand for such a translation as is here offered has come from the field of Hebrew scholarship. It is as a translation by scholars for scholars, in the first instance. Ninety pages of Textual Notes, giving the critical support of the readings adopted, are appended. There are nearly four thousand of these readings. There are further revisions because of the obsolescence of many good English words of King James' day. Likewise the solemn forms of address are discarded.

The translators have used good judgment in their treatment of the divine names. The erroneous name "Jehovah" has been discarded, and, following the orthodox Jewish tradition, "Lord" is adopted. In this respect the Authorized Version was not to be improved upon.

The translators and the publishers have sought to give this work the appearance of a modern book, and they have succeeded. The press-work is admirable and the editorial work excellent. While preserving the familiar chapter and verse enumerations in the margin, the material is topically divided, prose being naturally paragraphed and poetry being printed in its constituent lines. The editor has discarded Moffatt's method of indicating the different hypothetical literary documents by different type; he aimed at publishing a translation, not a critical apparatus. The laymen, who in the end must be the chief beneficiaries of the work, will thank him. Scholars will continue to make their own textual reconstructions and translations.

There are disappointments in the work. At times the original Hebrew has been too literally translated: e. g., I Sam. 3:11, "both the ears of every one that heareth it will tingle" (Moffatt, "that will make the ears of all who hear it ring"); I Sam. 4:2, "and when the battle became general" (Moffatt, "it was a stiff fight"); I Sam. 4:15, "his eyes were set so that he could not see" (Moffatt, "so dim that he could not see"). These readings are chosen at random; there are scores of such literalisms. They may seem like trifling caveats, but they are disappointments. The translation is faithful, but it lacks virility. Nevertheless the work supplies one more valuable tool for Bible study. The minister or the layman who uses it will not be far from the original meaning of Holy Scripture.

H. C. ALLEMAN

#### REVIEWS AND NOTICES: NEW TESTAMENT

##### JESUS AND HIS TASK

R. T. STAMM

*The Historical Life of Christ.* With a Preface by F. C. Burkitt. By J. Warschauer. London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1927. 368 pages.

*Jesus—A New Biography.* By Shirley Jackson Case. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927. 453 pages. \$3.00, postage extra.

Of the writing of Lives of Jesus there is no end. Nor indeed can there be since the materials upon which his biographers are dependent are not such as to compel uniformity of interpretation: whether one writes or reads the story of Jesus, the personal equation is inevitable.

An adequate presentation of the many-sided life of Jesus de-

pends upon the knowledge and the religious experience of the interpreter, and—what is too seldom realized—upon the intellectual and religious life of the society of which the biographer is himself a part.

Considerations such as these should remind the modern biographer of Jesus not to pile too many of his conclusions into the basket of a single theory. Just that, however, is what Dr. Warschauer has done in his presentation of the Historical Life of Christ. That he should have made such deadly earnest with Schweitzer's eschatological theory is the more to be regretted in that his work is in some respects a mine of rich suggestions for the student of the life of Christ. For all that, it is highly instructive to see what may happen when the formula *eschatological, therefore historical* is applied to the records of the life of Jesus:

When Jesus began to preach the Good News, "He meant what His hearers understood—not a far-distant change to be gradually brought about, but a sudden, glorious and complete consummation to be expected in the immediate future". Yet he was conscious that the new order had already begun: "He felt that His personality was introducing a new factor into the world." Who then was he?

His emphasis was ethical: the new era was to be brought in by the quickening agency of human effort. The aim was to be attained *for all* by the consecrated efforts of *a few*; these few were the men of violence—"passion"—who would take the Kingdom by force.

"At some time and in some manner our Lord must have allowed it to be believed that the current messianic expectations of His people were to find their fulfilment in Him." That belief could not have sprung into existence *after Calvary*. If it had not existed during his lifetime; nor could the inscription on the cross have been credibly preferred against him.

Yet in argument with the Pharisees concerning Psalm 90 he had repudiated the "Son of David" conception. He fixed instead upon the term "Son of Man" as freer from nationalist and political associations. At first he merely claimed a certain solidarity with that figure (Mk. 8:38); his final step was not to claim the Messiahship already, but to believe that after he had suffered death as a ransom for many, he would return in the rôle of God's Anointed.

"This", says Dr. Warschauer, "is surely the most astounding romance in all history—incredible, had it not happened: that He who preached the coming of the Son of Man with intensest conviction did so for the greater part of the time without realizing that He was Himself the One whom He preached. When at last He had fully solved the secret of His own Personality, He was

ready to die—there was nothing else left for Him to do. Moses wist not that his face shone; and Jesus was the Christ ere He had known it."

John's question had forced Jesus to face the problem as to who he was. The Baptist had meant to ask, not "Art thou the Messiah?" but "Art thou the Elijah?" Jesus did not feel that to be his rôle: instead, his own assurance of his messianic office forced him to the inference that John was the long-predicted forerunner.

The fate of John was a warning that it was now the wisest step to get out of the reach of Herod. This danger, added to the none too prosperous result of the Disciples' missionary journey, faced Jesus with the necessity of accelerating the birth-pangs of the Kingdom by becoming the Suffering Servant. His sacrifice would be a sort of ransom paid to fate for the accomplishment of his aim, or a signal for the unloosing of the final woes. If he was to "come" in the future he must first "go"—pass through death and be manifested as the Christ: death was the unalterable condition by which his Messiahship could become real.

Jesus welded the image of the Messianic Son of Man coming down from heaven with that of the Suffering Servant.

At Mt. Hermon the Lord reached a spiritual crisis which led him, under pledge of silence, to reveal this, his messianic secret to Peter, James, and John. It was in a moment of high religious ecstasy. They, however, were unable to comprehend his combination of Suffering with Messiah, and "it is more than possible that when the hour of exaltation was passed He regretted having spoken at all"; for Peter, carried away by his feelings, broke his pledge of silence.

This premature disclosure jeopardized his entire undertaking. To correct the mischief, he directed to them the stern and stirring message of Mark 8:34-38; and not only did he predict his suffering, but "unquestionably" he predicted his resurrection. And now he set out to execute his purpose.

He first returned to Galilee to recruit the caravan of followers who accompanied him to Jerusalem. He was set upon reaching the city on the eve of the great festival when it would be thronged with pious pilgrims from the whole known world. "This was the mass of inflammable material which He meant to kindle to such a conflagration as history had never witnessed, a conflagration in which He too would perish, only to rise again, like the fabled bird, from its ashes".

His mode of entry into Jerusalem must be in accordance with Messianic prophecy, not thereby to prove himself the Messiah, but from a sense of its fitness, and "because He felt it behoved Him to fulfill the Scripture". Yet he did not mean the messianic character to be obvious to the people; nor did they so interpret



it: had they done so, there would have been witness to that effect at the trial.

Jesus' resolution was "by one superlatively bold stroke to set in motion those forces which would compel the Kingdom to appear". To this end he attacked the traders in the Temple. It was an insignificant fracas in one corner; the Temple guard did not even intervene, because to have done so would have created a real disturbance and brought in Roman interference. Jesus' object had been to fulfill prophecy and to *die*, but his plan miscarried, for he was allowed to retire from the scene.

He was not to be thus thwarted. With the intentionally provocative Parable of the Two Sons and with the declaration, "The publicans and harlots go into the Kingdom of God before you!" he rejoined the battle. His studiously immoderate denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees accomplished his purpose of getting into trouble. They resolved to arrest him, but they lacked a capital charge to bring before Pilate, for Jesus had not publicly proclaimed himself the Messiah, and, up to this point, his secret had been closely guarded in the circle of his disciples.

Judas now betrayed it. Disappointed and angry, he would get revenge on the sham Messiah, and at the same time provide a way of escape for himself.

Jesus went to the cross. He had planned to call the Kingdom into being quickly, immediately, with power, by a heroic ethic ready for the cross, by the most implicit obedience to God's will. "That the Kingdom did not appear *when* Jesus expected it is a detail; that it can and will come only *in the way* He expected it matters everything".

What the author of this "Historical Life of Christ" is driving at is exquisitely set forth by Professor Burkitt in his Preface. "I read once", he says, "I forget where, but it was on a bookstall and I think in French—a tale of how the Son of God, victorious over death, was ascending through the regions of heaven to His glorious Father, and, as He passed along, one of the highest Angels ventured to accost Him and to say, 'My Lord, the great Design, the inauguration of Thy Kingdom on the earth, is it all finished' And Jesus said, 'It is finished!' The Angel said, 'My Lord, I have been sent elsewhere, I have heard nothing: dare I ask what Thou hast done?' Jesus replied, 'I was known as the child of respectable working folk, I lived unnoticed for some thirty years, then I came forward for a few months and talked with men and women of all sorts, and I think some of those who listened will be influenced all their lives, some fishermen, some petty tradesmen, some women good and bad. And in the end enemies had Me executed'. 'My Lord, my Lord', exclaimed the Angel in horror, 'What, was there no other way?' 'No', said Jesus, '*there was no other way*'."

But somehow the eschatological arrow has missed the mark. Indeed, as one feels the artificiality of it, he could wish that Professor Burkitt's tale had been written into the preface to *Jesus—A New Biography*.

Here the test of historicity is the question, What fits more readily into the Palestinian social background of the life and work of Jesus than into the environment of the authors of the Gospel accounts?

It is a test that goes deeper than questions of the Aramaic or Greek origin of the tradition about Jesus, and of the literary relationships between the Gospels, important as these problems are; for textual and literary criticism are but preparatory disciplines for the real task of the historian.

From the point of view of this biographer of Jesus, it is far too simple a procedure to assume that canonical dignity and supposable apostolic authorship guarantee the reliability of the tradition.

Precisely here is where the investigation begins. It is found that the process of canonization in the second century was bound up with the necessity of standardizing opinions about Jesus in order to avoid disrupting the new Christian society.

With respect to apostolic authorship, the situation is that, while it is probable that John Mark did write the Gospel which bears his name, "an examination of its style and content does not bear out the supposition that it is an unadorned compilation of excerpts from Peter's sermons." The character and career of the Paul of Acts differs so widely from the Paul of the Epistles that Lucan authorship is in serious doubt, and even if Luke were in reality the author of the Gospel, "it will have been the work of one who had no first-hand knowledge of the subject treated and whose 'apostolic' authority consisted only in attachment to the person of Paul who himself had not been a companion of Jesus". As for Matthew and John, the character of their contents is alone sufficient to refute the tradition of apostolic authorship: why, for example, should it have been necessary for the writer of the Gospel of Matthew to use the Gospel of Mark, if he had been an apostle?

For the accuracy of any gospel's information about Jesus the date of its composition is not a certain witness. Indeed, the crucial period for investigation is the time between the death of Jesus and our earliest written records. "At the start, activities of Jesus were recalled only in isolated fashion. References to time and place were quite incidental, if not entirely wanting. It was a sufficient introduction to say 'and it came to pass', or in those days', or 'on a certain occasion'. These first accounts owed their origin, not the literary impulse of outstanding authors, but to the activity of various inconspicuous disciples who rehearsed

individual sayings of incidents from the lifetime of Jesus for practical use in the Christian cause."

The influence of these practical interests on the genesis and development of the tradition about Jesus makes it necessary to apply the following criterion: "The decisive consideration in dealing with all gospel tradition is the extent to which the narrative reveals the dominance of interests suitable to the distinctive situation of Jesus, in contrast with conditions characteristic of later stages in the growth of the Christian movement."

No supposable date of origin is early enough to secure immunity from this fundamental test of social experience. For Jesus was more than a mere citizen of Nazareth. His home was but an hour's walk from Sepphoris, the largest city and "ornament of all Galilee". When Jesus was perhaps between five and ten years of age, the Romans had burned it for its part in the revolution of Judas. About ten years later Antipas began the work of reconstruction.

Did Jesus, the main support of a family of at least six younger children, ply his trade there? Did he work not only with Jewish fellow-laborers, but also with artisans of other nationalities? To picture this "requires no very daring flight of the imagination". At least the presence of Jesus in the city on various occasions can scarcely be doubted.

"The unconventionality of Jesus in mingling freely with the common people, his generosity toward the stranger and the outcast, and his conviction of the equality of all classes before God, perhaps owe their origin in no slight degree to the proximity of Nazareth to Sepphoris". He was "equally at home in the crowded streets of Capernaum, among the fishermen on the shore of the lake, among the laborers in the fields, or with travelers on the highways". All this is the more readily understandable if one may suppose that his own deepest religious experiences had been evolved amid a complex society.

"In his view religion was something that could function to the full while people were engaged in their normal activities. His ideals of righteousness were realizable and to be realized in close contact with society in the actual process of everyday living".

Jesus conceived his task accordingly. Unlike John the Baptist, to whose call to the people of Palestine to reconsecrate themselves to God in preparation for the day of judgment he himself responded, he did not go into the desert. Nor did he rely on the sword: the disaster which had overtaken Sepphoris at the hands of the Romans would have shown him the futility of such a course of procedure. God himself must be trusted to abolish the rule of Rome.

The supreme need, meanwhile, was to summon the Jewish people to live more perfectly in accord with the will of their God.

To this new-found prophetic task Jesus now gave himself. The times were evil and the day reckoning was at hand. Yet it was no mere *interim* ethics that he taught.

Here and now, right in the midst of present evils, the heavenly life must be lived: "One to be accounted worthy of the Kingdom must strive now, however impossible of success the effort might be, to emulate the standards of spiritual life to be maintained in the future by all those who hoped to dwell in the very presence of Deity when the Kingdom shall become a fully established fact".

How did Jesus think of himself in relation to his task? The answer is: *As a prophet*, and that, too, as a prophet who would make no claim upon heaven for ravens to bring him bread, who would ask no assistance from ministering angels, who would yield neither to the current desire for an exhibition of miracles, nor to the revolutionary psychology of the people. That decision had been the essence of his "temptation" experience.

But did Jesus not think of himself as the Son of Man? "It was far easier for Christians in the latter half of the first century to designate Jesus 'Son of Man' than it would have been for him in his own lifetime so to style himself". In Jewish apocalyptic speculation the Son of Man resided with God in the heavens, and was not to appear on earth until the day of judgment. How was it possible for Jesus a Galilean artisan, to imagine himself in that rôle?

As for the traditional messianic figure of Judaism, essentially a glorified Davidic prince, Jesus "was more interested in God and the Kingdom than in creating a new Messianic official".

On the other hand, after the shock of the crucifixion, revised definitions of the Kingdom came to be the order of the day. The followers of Jesus introduced the heaven-exalted Jesus into the office of the apocalyptic Messiah. Had Jesus himself made these revisions "he would have had to anticipate an extended series of events whose historical emergence belongs exclusively to the subsequent experiences of the disciples". "The ultimate problem is to discover any incentive that would have prompted him to anticipate their way thinking". It is specious reasoning to assume that the disciples would have had no sufficient incentives for their later confidence, if Jesus had not predicted his resurrection, reappearance, and exaltation to Messiahship.

Over against this, the core of Jesus' religion is found in his feeling of personal relation to God. He was aware, "not simply of the existence and character of God; he felt the very emotions of the Deity throbbing through his own soul". It was a mystical experience, but of a sort that gave a mighty ethical and spiritual drive: God, he felt, was using him in the service of humanity.

Pursuance of his task soon brought Jesus into conflict with the ruling classes. Herod, who had acted to forestall any possible

revolt by John, would probably have put him to death, had he not left Galilee. With respect to the scribes, it is easy to exaggerate the breach with Jesus. It is not likely that originally he had intended it. It came, not so much because he taught irregular doctrines, as because he came into conflict with the institutional machinery of Pharisaism. He had had a sense of sudden and divine commission for his task; the scribe had gone through a long preparatory discipline. Jesus had attended no professional school: instead, he and his followers were "people of the land". It was natural that they should resent his activities, for they were far more dangerous than John's had been, in that Jesus was carrying his message to the people, seeking them out in the common walks of life.

Because of the nature of the records, it is impossible to construct a full itinerary of his career. When the tradition began to be collected, interest centered on what he had said or done, rather than on dates or scenes of operation; hence there was at first no effort at complete sequence of events, or a comprehensive topographical record.

Consequently, the *New Biography* stresses the religion that Jesus lived and the religion that Jesus taught. The reader is taken into the presence of One who "felt himself wholly in the grip of the Almighty", whose religion "was essentially an experiential affair rooted in the spiritual impulse of the inner life, and who was "no champion of mediocrity or moderation in spiritual affairs".

"And what Jesus demanded of others he himself was ready to perform. His own loyalty to the ideas that he preached carried the prophet from his carpenter's home in Nazareth to Christendom's cross on the Golgotha hill".

To see Jesus thus as he appeared "to the men of his own time in Palestine nineteen hundred years ago" is to see him in the fulness of his power over human life; to abstract him from that environment is to make him unreal to the men of our own generation.

That the application of the method which is the basis of this biography of Jesus is not easy, will be evident from a single example of the problems to which it gives rise. How shall one determine what elements in the New Testament records are due to the creative influence of Old Testament prophecy, that is to say, to what extent was the Old Testament actually a source book for the life of Jesus. At present, answers will vary; and the divergence will be due to the difficulty of formulating criteria of judgment with one hundred per cent objectivity. The subjective element cannot, perhaps, be completely obviated, but the very recognition of its existence will be the best safe-guard against it.

Of the preacher will be required a much wider knowledge of

ancient history, literature and life than ever before. To that end he will welcome each new contribution to our knowledge of the life of Jesus.

In this connection especial attention is called to the following books of recent publication:

Kraeling, Carl H. *Anthropos and Son of Man. A Study in the Religious Syncretism of the Hellenistic Orient.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. 191 pages.

McNeile, A. H. *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament.* Oxford: At the clarendon Press, 1927. 478 pages.

Taylor, Vincent. *Behind the Third Gospel. A Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis.* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1926. 279 pages.

Cadbury, Henry J. *The Making of Luke-Acts.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. 385 pages.

Carpenter, J. Estlin. *The Johannine Writings. A Study of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel.* New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927.

Silver, Abba Hillel. *Messianic Speculation in Israel.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. 268 pages.

Jeremias, Joachim. *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu.* Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte. I. Teil Die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse. II. Teil Die sozialen Verhältnisse. Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1923—. 98, 64,—pages.

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A. L. O. E., *The Beautiful Garment and Other Stories.* Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1927. 96 p. \$0.35.

*The Concordia Cyclopaedia.* A Handbook of Religious Information, with Special Reference to the History, Doctrine, Work, and usages of the Lutheran Church. L. Fuerbringer, Th. Engelder, P. E. Kretzmann, Editors-in-chief. St. Louis, Mo., Concordia Publishing House, 1927. 848 p.

Edwards, Loren M. *What Is Left of the Apostles' Creed?* New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 135 p. \$1.00.

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- McFayden, Donald, *Understanding the Apostles' Creed*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. 318 pages. \$2.60.
- Miller, Bishop Geo. A., *Adventures with Christ in Latin America*. N. Y.: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 198 p. \$1.00.
- Nordgren, Ruby Patton, *Beginners' Course in the Sunday School*. A Manual for Teachers and Parents. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1927. 240 p. \$2.00
- Rice, M. S., *To Know Him*. Five Addresses. Lectures on the Matthew Simpson Foundation, De Pauw University, 1927. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 100 p. \$1.00.
- Södergren, C. J., *The Acts with Commentaries*. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1927. 264 p.
- Södergren, C. J., *The Prophecy of Malachi with notes*, Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1927. 78 p.
- Stafford, Geoffrey Wardle, *The Sermon on the Mount*. The Charter of Christianity. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1927. 248 p. \$1.75.
- Stephenson, George M., *The Founding of the Augustana Synod 1850-1860*. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1927. 160 p. Paper \$.75.
- Verhandlungen der dreissigsten Versammlung der Evang.—Luth. Synodalkonferenz von nord-Amerika zu Lockport, N. Y., vom 18 bis zum 23, August 1926*. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, 1927. 51 p.

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